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## Near East/South Asia Report

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5 July 1985

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

'VOICE OF VENGEANCE AND SACRED HATRED' TARGETS JEWS

Broadcast Samples Given

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 6 Apr 85 pp 15-17

[Article by Bakr 'Uwaydah: "Baffling Voice Calls for Holocaust in Arab Maghreb"]

[Text] Every day for 4 hours dubious appeals are broadcast from the "Voice of Vengeance and Sacred Hatred," calling upon Moroccans, Tunisians and Algerians to persecute the Jews in their countries, kill them and burn their property.

A PLO delegate in Malta told AL-TADAMUN, "Our struggle is not Nazi terrorism, as the Zionist movement has tried to portray it. As for the bewildering information in this broadcast, it subverts all the concepts of our struggle. We have paid an exorbitant price to prove these concepts."

Suddenly, with no introduction, it began, as if the liberation of Palestine begins with the slaughter of several thousand Jews who live as citizens in Morocco and Tunisia; as if the liberation of Palestine does not begin with the borders of Arab states surrounding Israel opening up to Palestinian Arab fighters "immersed" in Arab exile; as if the liberation of Palestine does not begin with the renunciation of increased fragmentation and shredding of the Palestinian body. Suddenly a strange voice rings out, advocating the slaughter of every Jew in the Arab Maghreb, in other words, demanding a Jewish holocaust in the Arab Maghreb. From Malta, Bakr 'Uwaydah writes about this voice which one may regard only with great suspicion and misgiving.

Three weeks ago an Arabic language radio station began transmitting a message to nations of the Arab Maghreb--Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. The least that can be said about the content and thrust of this message is that they are very grave. We say they are very grave if we assume that those responsible for this broadcast are Arabs financed by an Arab state.

However, if we regard this radio broadcast in the light of its content and purpose as being an Israeli broadcast, covered in Arabic, then we are facing a terrible scheme which the targeted states must confront as quickly as

possible. In either case, whether it is an Arab broadcast or an Israeli broadcast in Arabic, we must realize that the message which it transmits to Moroccans, Tunisians and Algerians most simply is an invitation and call for a Jewish holocaust in the Arab Maghreb. Nothing strengthens the cohesion of the Zionist movement and encourages formation of the state [Israel] more than the heightened conviction that the Jew is pursued, chased and persecuted, and he is fair game. The Zionist movement triumphed over all the nations of West Europe and European public opinion in its entirety in establishing its state in Palestine, with the sympathy of the world. It has cost the Arabs much time and a great deal of blood to correct some aspects of that sympathy which has had repercussions on their rights. Their rights have been usurped and squandered under the umbrella of that sympathy.

Before going on to analyze the grave thrust of this broadcast, if Arab, and the malicious conspiracy in its message, if Israeli, and we would like to believe it is the latter, we will pause over a few of the available details regarding this broadcast.

Those in charge of this broadcast call it the "Voice of Vengeance and Sacred Hatred."

They do not mention where their radio broadcast originates, but its clear reception on medium wave on an island such as Malta (290 kilometers from the North African coast, toward which this broadcast is aimed) is an indication that it is being transmitted from nearby, if not from Malta itself. It has been impossible to confirm this up to the time this investigation was being written.

Transmission time amounts to 4 hours daily, divided into a morning period between 1000 and 1200 hours and an evening period between 2200 hours and midnight. It is a long and costly transmission. This confirms that a powerful state is bearing these costs. It is not a party, movement or group of adventurists, but a state possessing the financial and technical means, in addition to a library of songs and the broadcasters to enable it to run such an organized radio transmission.

The transmission begins with a recording of bullets raining down (not verses of the Koran, for example). Then the loud voice of an announcer rings out with words which in the beginning do not give any indication of the basic purpose of the broadcast. The opening words are:

"Let the anger within us burn. Let the voice of vengeance ring out. Let the sacred hatred blaze against the Zionist Jews who have occupied our land, appropriated our goods, plundered our resources, burned our sacred things, destroyed our houses, frightened away our parents and killed our children."

There is no objection to these words, for they are directed against the Zionist occupation of Palestine and all its ramifications. However, these words set the stage for something more serious. Measures from the beautiful

national anthems come to an end. "Vengeance will not sleep in my breast, no matter how long it takes." The announcer then proceeds with the message and thrust of this broadcast:

"Brothers of Arabdom, on the path of vengeance for Jewish aggression, we meet again at this time every day. We meet again through the 'Voice of Vengeance and Sacred Arab Hatred'. We meet again, confident and determined and insistent on going forward with liberation to eliminate the Jewish presence from every inch of the Arab Maghreb, from Ben Gardane in the East to Tangier in the West, no matter what the price or sacrifice. 'The Voice of Vengeance and Sacred Hatred'.

Songs. "No lenience as of today, no leniency." The announcer continues:

"Our brothers in the Arab Maghreb, we must carry out violence against Jews everywhere. We must kill them. We have made it our duty to carry on an incessant holy war until we liberate the land which has been stolen from us. We must shake the earth from under their feet. We must make them live in constant terror. Fight them. God tortures them through your hands, brothers of ours in Tunisia. Our brothers in the Maghreb, the Jews in the occupied territory and in South Lebanon are carrying out the most repugnant acts of destruction against your defenseless brothers. Avenge the blood of your brothers. Kill Jews wherever you find them. Tear them apart. Burn them. Disperse them. Throw them out of your houses. Shake the earth from under their feet, because they are wretched murderers. I call upon you, I call upon you, I call upon you, my brother Arab in North Africa. We are fed up. We have lost patience with those Jews. There is no longer the least doubt about their evil intentions with regard to our Arab nation. So that the tragedy is not repeated, so that the wailing of the women does not ring out, we say to you, do not cause them to repeat the tragedy, do not give them the opportunity again to start off. Shed their blood. Make them live in disgrace and shame. Come, my brothers. Make the world regard you with deference and respect. Make the world see in fact that the Arabs are strong."

"Elimination of the Jewish presence from every inch of the Arab Maghreb."

This is the case made by the radio transmission 4 hours per day. It is aimed at the Arab Maghreb where Jewish minorities remain. Most of them are in Morocco. A few of them are scattered between Algeria and Tunisia. It is very likely that no Jews remain in Libya following the mass emigration of Libyan Jews in the aftermath of the angry reaction they faced on the eve of the 1967 June War.

It is striking that this call rings out to eliminate the Jewish presence in the Arab Maghreb. Through political wisdom, leaders of the nations there understand the gravity of such an appeal so well that King Hassan II of Morocco has said on more than one occasion that the doors of his country are open for Moroccan Jews who emigrated to occupied Palestine to return to

their homeland, Morocco. In addition, he sponsored the congress of Jewish groups which was held in his country recently, despite all the storms it caused. In several of his speeches, Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi has called upon Jews of Arab nations to return to the nations they left for Israel. He also called upon Jews of Europe and America to return to their country of origin. In this way the Palestinian problem would be solved, according to the colonel, and Palestine would revert to its native Muslim, Christian and Jewish population. A strong friendship even binds the former Chancellor of Austria Bruno Kreisky (he is Jewish) and Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi. They have had several meetings during which the Palestinian problem has been the main topic, especially in view of the fact that Kreisky is trying to play the role of godfather of peace between the Arabs and Israel. According to an informed Palestinian, Kreisky is the one who frankly advised Yasir 'Arafat, at a meeting between the two in the Austrian Jewish politician's home in Spanish Mallorca, to become reconciled with Col al-Qadhdhafi and not prolong the feud with him.

Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba is the author of the famous pledge to "cut off the head of any Tunisian who attempts to carry out a hostile act against any Tunisian Jewish citizen." Bourguiba made this pledge the day when feelings in Tunisia were fanned to some extent against Tunisian Jews in order to force them to emigrate from Tunisia.

If three leaders of Arab Maghreb nations act in this manner with regard to any attempt aiming at inciting Jews of the Arab Maghreb to flee to occupied Palestine, then how can one understand the mystery of this broadcast which 3 weeks ago began transmitting the following words:

"My brother Arabs in the free Arab Maghreb, in the glorious single Maghreb, in the country of 1 million martyrs, in heroic Tunisia, rise up, O sons of Ya'rub. Rise and take up arms against the Jews. Cleanse your countries of this evil, filthy germ. Learn a lesson and look what happened in Palestine. Fight them wherever you meet them. Wage war against them wherever you find them. Do not let any of them escape. Do not let any of them know the meaning of life."

In another part of this provocation, we hear the following:

"Do not be ashamed. Do not pay blood money. Rise from your sleep. Break the shackles of fear. Attack these vile people. Kill them. Slaughter them. Burn their houses. Destroy everything. Make their life hell and their days full of woe and death, so that they do not betray you and emigrate to Palestine, as the Falasha Jews did. Days are passing, and we are waiting."

The Falasha Jews? The broadcast reminds us of the conspiracy to transport Ethiopian Jews and how the Zionist mentality exploited a human tragedy like the famine in order to take those Jews away and make their relocation a

successful political and propaganda affair. We are prompted to ask what would happen if, as this broadcast of "sacred hatred" demands, death, murder and destruction spread tomorrow in the homes of the Jewish citizens of Morocco or Tunisia? One can face this question only with a great deal of suspicion and doubt concerning the objective of this broadcast. AL-TADAMUN asked Murad "Isa al-Bahlul, PLO representative and chairman of the committee of Arab diplomatic missions in Malta, what he knew about this broadcast. He said, "Three weeks ago this broadcast took us by surprise. We have been receiving it clearly here in Malta. We were surprised when it raised concepts totally contrary to the Palestinian struggle which is not waging its battle with the Jew as an individual. On the contrary, we are waging our battle with the Zionist movement and the Zionist who is occupying our land in Palestine. We in the Palestinian revolution have struggled throughout the past 20 years to prove to the world that our struggle is a humane struggle linked with our legitimate right, not Nazi terrorism, as the Zionist movement has tried to portray it. Then along came this voice and strange propaganda trend. They subvert all the concepts of our struggle. We have already paid an enormous price to prove those concepts."

In response to our question about the existence of any information regarding the source of this broadcast or the party which is financing it, Murad 'Isa al-Bahlul said, "So far we are still studying the matter. There is no confirmed information about the source of the broadcast or the party which is financing it. However, I say that if it is financed by an Arab party and originates in Arab territory, it is a disaster. Immediately after we received this broadcast, we brought the matter to the attention of the council of Arab ambassadors in Malta, since the Palestinian leadership is concerned about this."

The Tunisian ambassador in Malta, Noureddine Fenniche, also disapproved of this broadcast. He considered its thrust to be serious. However, he thought it unlikely that there would be any positive response to the appeal made by this broadcast, since Tunisians are alert. With regard to the source of the broadcast and the party financing it, the Tunisian ambassador pointed out that information on this was not yet available.

In addition, this broadcast goes into details of the daily life of certain Jews in Morocco and Tunisia. It draws the attention of Tunisians to the "criminal Jew Abraham" who owns a bakery and rental housing; Hirabou who deals in construction materials and owns a civilian car which he uses for rental purposes, openly, in front of everyone; and Houacho, an animal trader who owns a slaughterhouse. The broadcast "Voice of Vengeance and Sacred Hatred" calls for the expulsion of these people and others with words like the following:

"My brother Arab in Tangier, Jerba, Gabes (?), Tetouan, Nabeul, Bizerte, Sousse, Oujda, Meknes and Gafsa (?), today vengeance, sacred vengeance, is demanded of you against the Jews who are a permanent menace to you in every village and in every city of beloved Tunisia and Morocco. My Arab brother,

move to the realm of action. Kill all Jews. Show them no compassion or mercy. They supply the usurper enemy with money, arms and moral support. Your money is killing your brothers in Sidon, Tyre and every inch of wounded Lebanon. What a disgrace that they enjoy protection in Tunisia. What a shame that they enjoy protection in Morocco. Rise up against this artificial presence. Tunisia is Arab. Morocco is Arab. There is no place, nor will there be a place for a Jew on any Arab soil. Burn all Jews, wherever you find them. Kill all rabbis and disfigure them in the ugliest manner. Fire, fire, violence, violence. Down with all slogans of coexistence. Let our struggle be one of existence, not borders. The land is my land. The sky is my sky. The Arabs are my kin. The Jews are my enemies. Let us stop this Hebrew outrage."

After this initial observation of the orientation of this broadcast, we must raise a number of the following questions and points:

First, the broadcast does not address any appeal to the Arabs of the occupied territory to escalate their struggle against the Zionist occupation. It might demand, for example, that they fight despite the siege conditions surrounding them, since the scene of the main struggle is Palestine itself.

Second, the broadcast makes no mention at all of the nearly 6,000 Jews living in Syria or the several thousand Jews in Iraq and Yemen. This suggests that the broadcast is trying to ignite a Jewish holocaust only in the Arab Maghreb.

Third, besides murder, destruction, annihilation and eviction, the broadcast occasionally demands the expulsion of Jews of the Arab Maghreb. The question is, where do they go? Does this mean that we are awaiting another "Falasha"?

Fourth, if the intentions and objectives of this broadcast are actually nationalist, why then are they secret? Why does this broadcast not announce its source of emission? It is a question which makes us inclined to believe that Israeli fingers are the motive force behind such an evil appeal as this. Here we should mention the incident of the Jewish synagogue explosion in Baghdad in 1951. It resulted in spreading terror among the ranks of Iraqi Jews for the purpose of making them emigrate to Palestine. Because of it, a scandal broke out 2 years ago in Israel when information was published confirming that agents of the Zionist movement were the ones who had perpetrated this act.

Fifth, what is the position of the Arab League with regard to this orientation? Have its departments which are concerned with this, in addition to its general secretariat, made any effort to examine closely the question of this broadcast and find out the true nature of those running it and what they want?

A final observation remains. Those in charge of this broadcast, even if they are Arabs, must ask their consciences this question:

Does the battle to liberate Palestine lie in igniting fires against Jews in the Arab Maghreb, or does it lie in Palestine itself, South Lebanon and the Golan Heights where confrontation must be escalated and the borders opened to revolution and armed violence? Burning a Jewish citizen in Morocco or Tunisia, as this broadcast desires, may shrink the number of Jews, but it destroys by fire the flesh and blood of Palestine. Is this what the creators of the "Voice of Vengeance and Sacred Hatred" want?

#### Libya Identified as Source

Tunis AL-MAWQIF in Arabic 23 Mar 85 p 40

[Article: "'Voice of Vengeance' - Dubious Chauvinism"]

[Text] I had never heard the broadcast called the "Voice of Vengeance", until by chance a hoarse voice filled with zeal, as if it were calling for war, caught my attention. I paused to find that the announcer was speaking or screaming in a radio broadcast called the "Voice of Vengeance". The announcer read a statement calling upon the people of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco to combat "Jews, kill Jews and slaughter them as they slaughtered our people in Lebanon and Palestine."

The announcer of the "Voice of Vengeance", which comes from Libya, talked about Jews, not about Israelis or Zionists, whom he did not mention at all. On the contrary, he emphasized the word "Jews."

According to our brother, "This foul race must be destroyed. This evil must be exterminated. The people of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco must swear on bread and water that they will not disregard this."

Here I do not wish to go into the opinion and position of our brother, the announcer, with regard to Jews in general. The relationship in this call is one between guest and banquet, in other words, the people of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco on the one hand, and Jews on the other.

I believe that exporting fascist and chauvinistic attitudes outside Libya is the main point here, not combatting Zionism. This has been made clear to us through the calls and struggle of the "Voice of Vengeance and Sacred Hatred." It does not focus on combatting the state of Israel. Furthermore, there is a significant number of Jewish citizens in these countries. All of this reminds us of Zionist tricks and Zionist intelligence organs. Since 1948 they have been fomenting a hostile attitude among Arabs against Jews who are fellow citizens, for the purpose of inducing them to leave the country and emigrate to Israel. Many Jews have indeed emigrated to Israel out of fear and lack of tranquility in their country of origin. This also reminds us of Hitler's fascism and forms of chauvinistic tendencies which

lead to only greater backwardness and obscurity and widen the dominion of blood, murder and loathing.

Chauvinism against Jews is religious chauvinism, not national, since Jews are a religious group. Consequently, the broadcaster's appeal is religious and chauvinistic, not national. Furthermore, broad segments of our Arab masses have combatted and continue to combat the fascist spirit which characterizes this nationalism. We renounce it as a means in both the internal struggle and the Arab-Israeli dispute. We must not forget that the slogan, "Throw the Jews into the sea", which certain Arab regimes have raised, has been exploited by Israel as an excuse for carrying out massacres against the Palestinian and Lebanese people and raising the banner of war against Arabs.

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CSO: 4504/289

EGYPT

#### FUTURE OF EGYPTIAN-SUDANESE RELATIONS EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 22-28 May 85 pp 22-25

[Article by 'Abd-al-Latif al-Minawi: "The Dangerous Cairo, Khartoum, Tripoli Triangle. Egyptian-Sudanese Relations Passing Through Crisis of Extraditing Numayri. Integration Is Put on Ice and Is Looking for Supporters in Sudan"]

[Text] The attitudes of the ordinary citizen in Sudan toward many matters has changed following the April revolution's success in toppling the Numayri regime. This change may be a reflection of a true change in previous positions or an expression of positions he was unable to express under the former regime and, therefore, he waited for the right time.

One matter that has undergone a change recently is the Sudanese people's attitude toward their relations with Egypt, both on the official and popular levels.

After Egyptian-Sudanese relations, which enjoyed a special status for the last 16 years, having been the primary mainstay governing the equation in the region, it seems that things have begun to change. There is a new tone, officially and popularly, when talking about relations with Egypt.

A great number of new changes have surfaced and a large number of old fears have appeared as well.

A large number of questions surround the future of the special relations between the two countries: their form, their level and the new dimensions controlling them.

AL-MAJALLAH shares its impressions about the Sudanese vision, the vision of the ordinary man and that of the various currents and the interim government, and the visions of Egyptians in Sudan as well.

When 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud, the number-two man in Libya, visited Sudan recently with his popular delegation, he was greeted by thousands of Sudanese citizens--Sudan does not have the power at present able to organize a demonstration or a march by force--and by welcoming posters everywhere. A popular rally was held for him, also attended by thousands of Sudanese citizens.

Political observers views this reception as a significant guage of the change in the Sudanese people's attitude toward their neighbors.

A Sudanese information ministry official told me: "It used to cost us 1.5 million pounds daily to secure our borders with the neighboring countries due to the great tension in our relations with them. We think we have had enough and want to live in peace with our neighbors."

The same thing was voiced by the general populace in Sudan. The deteriorating economic situation in Sudan cannot in any way be ruled out as a key motive governing the new Sudan in its relations with its neighbors, including its relations with Libya!

One politician said: "It was inconceivable to establish neighborly, or at least tranquil, relations between Sudan and Libya while maintaining the very special relations with Egypt. Therefore, it was natural that Sudan re-examine its relations with its neighbors on the basis of several factors, the most important of which was the economic one.

It will not be possible to imagine the future of Egyptian-Sudanese relations without taking into account the Libyan dimension.

Maj 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud told AL-TAJAMMU', a periodical published by the Trade Union Grouping: "The Egyptian regime suggested to us that we let it have Sudan and it will let us have Chad. We scoffed at this offer." He added: "We will not disparage peoples and we find it strange that the Egyptian people should appoint themselves regent over Sudan."

This tune, played by 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud, is echoed by many Sudanese at all levels. "We are not a football" is a refrain I heard from all those with whom I discussed Egyptian-Sudanese relations. The Sudanese have a strong feeling that their neighbors deal with them as though they were their guardians.

They wonder about "the meaning of an Egyptian official announcing that should Libya interfere in Sudan, Egypt will not stand idly by. We reject this method of dealing with us. We are a non-aligned country and we reject protectionism, be it by Egypt or any other side."

A Sudanese official said: "Such statements by Egyptian officials have aroused the sensitivities of the Sudanese people to such an extent that a large demonstration had been organized to march on the Egyptian embassy in Khartoum to express its rejection of the way the Egyptians treat the Sudanese, but it was contained by the Trade Union Grouping and the various parties before it had a chance to go out so as not to be interpreted as being directed against Egypt when it only meant to express the Sudanese people's rejection of the principle of tutelage by any country at all, especially since Libya does not have an embassy in Khartoum.

The Sudanese feeling of the existence of Egyptian tutelage over them, whether such a thing exists or is a figment of their imagination, is now creating a negative reaction with regard to their attitude toward Egypt.

"We must deal with each other as peers and not as one side trying to impose its tutelage on the other side."

"The Egyptians look down on us. They think we are unable to take responsibility for ourselves and are in constant need of tutelage." This is what an official of the music sector of the Sudanese ministry told me.

Historically, the relationship binding Egypt to Sudan has always assumed that Egypt is the stronger party.

This historical form of the relationship began generating psychological results in what may be called the psychological dimension which is now influencing Egyptian-Sudanese relations. This dimension may be strongly sensed by anyone visiting Sudan in the streets and through the mass media, especially the newspapers and periodicals of political parties and unions.

An Egyptian working in Sudan said: "I notice that Egypt has been absent from the Sudanese street since the April revolution and Sudanese popular sentiment is turning away from Egypt." The Egyptian citizen wondered in a worried tone, "Since the revolution, only official statements have come out of Egypt. But where are the Egyptian political parties and unions? Why did they not initiate contacts with the Sudanese parties and unions? Why is popular Egypt absent from Sudan, leaving it to others? When 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud came here, he held a popular rally attended by thousands. Can you imagine?" He said in conclusion: "I am afraid that Sudanese sentiment will shift to a feeling of hostility toward Egypt!"

This uneasy outlook is not shared by many people in Sudan. For although the Sudanese attitude towards their relations with Egypt is cooling off, things are not expected to reach the point of hostility.

This same notion was expressed to AL-MAJALLAH by the Sudanese Minister of Culture and Information, Dr Muhammad Bashir Hamid, when he said: "The Sudanese people's sentiments toward Egypt are cooling off for several reasons, including the fact that the Numayri regime bound Sudan to the American-Egyptian axis with the result that, instead of Sudan playing the mediator's role, it followed a specific policy over which the Arab world disagreed. Furthermore, a large number of people believe that American support of the Numayri regime helped Numayri stay in power and, consequently, there is a kind of--not hostility--but feeling that were it not for the American-Egyptian-Sudanese axis, the Numayri regime would not have lasted as long as it did."

Najwa is a young Sudanese doctor who studied at Cairo University, or at the Qasr al-'Ayni School of Medicine, according to her. She believes things are not cool between the Egyptians and Sudanese, but there is a strong feeling among the Sudanese that, without Egypt, Numayri would not have lasted as long as he did. "We lived for 16 years under the Numayri rule" and it could have been much less were it not for Egypt's help for him every time.

#### Numayri's Head, A Popular Demand

The Sudanese people have not been able to forget that Egypt supported the Numayri regime for a long time to help it stay in power. Not a single Sudanese has forgotten that Numayri is still in Cairo.

"We Demand the Extradition of the Murderer in Exchange for Relations" was the title of the lead editorial in the Trade Union Grouping bulletin.

Posters of "Numayri's Head Is A Popular Demand" fill the streets of Khartoum.

The Ummah-al-Ansar-party, in its political program, says: "al-Numayri's presence in Egypt affects relations."

Minister of Information Dr Bashir Hamid says to AL-MAJALLAH: "Numayri's presence in Egypt is one factor that has had a negative effect on the Sudanese people's psyche." When I asked him "if Egypt were to allow Numayri to leave the country, would it help soften this feeling?" He replied: "I do not wish to comment on Egyptian policy, but I think that Numayri's presence in Egypt is embarrassing official circles in Egypt."

One question the Sudanese ask Egyptians coming from Cairo is: "Is it true that the Egyptian authorities have started to harass the Sudanese?"

This question is asked following reports that the Egyptian authorities foiled an assassination attempt against Numayri by three armed Sudanese and that the Egyptian interior minister refused to comment on this incident. There are also reports that airport and port officials were asked to watch all passengers coming from Sudan.

Numayri's presence in Egypt, Egypt's refusal to extradite or expel him and the foiling of the assassination attempt, plus the reports about watching Sudanese passengers at airports, all lead to the question being asked by the Sudanese: "Why do you protect a murderer at the expense of the feelings of an entire people?"

#### Special Relations---Previously

The previous special Sudanese-Egyptian relations found themselves another formula called integration between Egypt and Sudan. Following Numayri's ouster, one thing is certain: Egyptian-Sudanese integration in its present form is over. Not a single party or current within Sudan accepts integration.

This rejection of integration can also be tied to what we called the psychological dimension in the relationship between Egypt and Sudan. The general feeling toward integration is that it is not a formula that lends itself to dealings between peers, but rather between a country trying to impose its tutelage and its policy and another country. The casting of roles is abundantly clear.

Minister of Information Dr Bashir Hamid goes on to say to AL-MAJALLAH that integration was handled from above--no popular contacts were made concerning its concept or its implementation. There is a feeling in the Sudanese community that the purpose of integration was not to safeguard the security of the country, but to protect the security of the regime. Therefore, the Sudanese people's attitude toward integration is mixed with belief that such an integration does not serve the interests of the Sudanese people as much as it governs the interests of the then-ruling authority. Likewise, the prevailing feeling is that the formula does not mean integration between two equal sides, but rather with one side that has imposed its influence and policies on the other side.

The Trade Union Grouping which led the popular movement that ousted al-Numayri express its position thus: "The bases of Sudanese-Egyptian relations were a historical healthy sign stemming from the natural cohesion of deep-rooted bonds and the mutual cultural and civilizational extension between the two countries. There is no room here for legal codification and joint defense pacts which cost us dearly, starting with the arrest of anti-regime students through the Egyptian authorities and turning them over to Ja'far, passing through the Bright Star festival staged by Egyptian-Sudanese-American forces in Sudan and ending with the Egyptian government's open arms which are embracing the murderer. This is not what integration is all about and we do not and will not submit to Washington's commands through Cairo."

#### For Whom Is Integration?

"As of now, we demand a new formula for the Nile water agreement in exchange for the bases of the desired relations. No relationship can be established by sophistry, no bonds for the benefit of imperialism and no integration in exchange for dignity."

A Khartoum University professor told me: "There is not a single individual in Sudan today who approves the continuation of integration."

At the home of al-Ansar leader, al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, in Omdurman, one of his aides said: "We reject the integration that was established between you and Numayri because the aim was to protect Numayri, not our interests."

A foreign ministry official said: "The Sudanese people did not get anything out of integration, no projects and no returns, economic or otherwise. How can we ask them to adhere to a formula from which they did not reap any positive results but indeed reaped the continuation of a regime imposed on them because of this integration?"

It is clear to any visitor to Sudan today that no one party out of the 36 parties and not one Sudanese accepts the continuation of integration between Egypt and Sudan.

The Sudanese minister of culture and information reaffirmed his rejection of the existing formula, saying: "If we want integration to occur in a satisfactory way, it is important to learn from all past mistakes. Let integration begin at the base and from interaction between the two peoples and not from the top. A new formula completely different from the old one must be found to make the people feel that integration is between two equal sides and not between two parties, one trying to spread its influence over the other."

A new re-distribution of the Nile waters is another demand being mentioned recently. They say they refuse to complete the Jonglei Canal project without a re-examination of the Nile waters distribution treaty. It is no longer strange to hear that "The Egyptians take the water while we have fertile land that needs the water more than they do."

This is the current Sudanese popular attitude towards their relations with Egypt. It can be summed up in a sentence I heard from a Sudanese: "we will deal with

you the same way we deal with any other Arab country. For many years, Egypt's name was forced on us and we have had enough. We heard it more than 20 times a day on our radio and TV stations. Even news about your soccer games was forced on us, but in return you did not bother to broadcast even our most important news. We have had enough. Let us deal with each other like any two Arab countries."

Dr Bashir Hamid said: "Our present policy is that of good neighbors with all the surrounding countries, including Libya and Ethiopia. We share common interests and common problems which can only be solved by having relations between us. We have decided that our relations with Libya and Ethiopia do not conflict with our relations with Egypt. Indeed, these relations qualify Sudan to play its customary role of mediator to settle Arab differences. We can play a role in improving relations between Egypt and Libya."

When I asked him about his perception of the future of these relations in light of his projection of what force will rule Sudan after the elections, he said: "It is difficult to project what force will win the upcoming elections. Therefore it is difficult to predict."

A political science professor said: "Things will not become clear before April 1986, following the transitional period and the holding of elections which will determine what current will rule Sudan."

Notwithstanding the fact that Sudan has 36 parties, and despite the clear dissimilarity, some observers expect that, on the eve of the elections, the picture will be defined in two clear directions: one made up of the religious current, al-Ansar and the Muslim Brotherhood--the disparity between them notwithstanding--to represent the right and the second made up of the other currents, parties and unions to represent the left. No matter what current will rule Sudan, the following points concerning the relationship with Egypt can be confirmed:

--The form of integration which existed between the two countries will not be restored.

--A new form of cooperation that will guarantee Sudan a feeling of peerage will be sought.

--Support of Camp David and the current Egyptian course toward peace will cease.

--A kind of Sudanese displeasure with Numayri's presence in Cairo will persist.

'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid [Boxed Inset p 23]

"We Have Not and Will Not Interfere in Sudan. We Have Not Received a Request to Re-examine Integration."

Dr 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid commented to AL-MAJALLAH on the written report out of Khartoum regarding the coolness in relations between the Egyptian and Sudanese peoples, saying: "I do not see any coolness in relations. This is a natural

transitional period Sudan is experiencing following the popular revolution. A coolness between the Egyptian people and Sudanese people is inconceivable."

Dr 'Abd-al-Majid added: "We are undertaking contacts at all official and popular levels. A doctors' syndicate delegation visited Khartoum, as did delegations from different political parties."

Dr 'Abd-al-Majid stressed that Egypt "does not and will not interfere in anything connected with Sudan, but our feelings and sentiments are with the Sudanese people. Egypt will place anything it can at the service of the Sudanese people." He added: "This is my feeling as an Egyptian citizen or else I would not accept to be interior minister."

About the future of integration, Dr 'Abd-al-Majid said: "The Egyptian government has not received anything official requesting a re-examination of integration and we have not received any message expressing a wish to discontinue or disregard integration."

As for Libya and its recent rapprochement with Sudan, Dr 'Abd-al-Majid said: "We welcome the resumption of relations between the two countries, but our information says that the Libyan delegation did not meet with the enthusiasm claimed by some. There was some exaggeration on the part of 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud in some of his positions, and the inclusion of armed men within the Libyan delegation aroused a measure of sensitivity."

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EGYPT

NDP ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL INTERVIEWED

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 6 May 85 p 16

[Interview with Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi, National Democratic Party assistant secretary general, by Sana' al-Sa'id; in Cairo, date not specified]  
"The Party Experiment Has Not Reached Maturity";

[Text] He may be one of those who has hoped and dreamed much! But he thinks and works more! He is passionately in love with interchange as a way of settling things. He never rejects conciliatory adjustments in dialogue, points of view, opinion and the opinions of others when the goal and direction is the national interest. Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi, the National Democratic Party's assistant secretary general--who is still proud of his academic standing as a professor of orthopedic surgery at Qasr al-'Ayni--here talks about the party experiment. According to him, party activities have not matured very far in Egypt. He thinks that we must first think clearly about party maturity and deepen the democratic practical experience before we aspire to form new parties. This will happen, inevitably, after the party experiment matures and crystallizes.

[Question] Has anyone asked you if you are still disappointed with the Labor Party masses, or with its principles or leadership? How can we have confidence that this experiment (leaving one party and joining another) will not be repeated a second time?

[Answer] Anyone has the right to ask, there is no censure or reproof of those who do. It behooves us to respond to questions, within the limits of what is human and within the limits of what is possible. To begin with, these facts.

First: I was and still am, tied to the Labor Party masses, and to its leadership and its principles, by strong ties which have not been weakened by differences in methods or opinion. The friendship is firm, the respect mutual and the relationship strong, thank God.

Second: The differences between the parties are not fundamental differences; i.e., they are not differences in principle, because the parties are one and all under the established constitution, believing in democratic socialism, swearing loyalty to Egypt, agreeing that Islam is the basic source for

legislation, and assuring human rights, freedom of thought and the authority of law.

Third: The differences that do exist--and there are a great many points of difference--are tactical, not fundamental. They are differences in methods, not objectives, of how much, not how.

Fourth: The circumstances of the creation and establishment of the parties, and the subsequent immaturity of the party experiment--in spite of the agreement on basic principles which I mentioned--imposes a kind of party instability, which I imagine will continue for some time. I hope it will not be a protracted period and that this experiment will mature soon.

After this, by way of reply to your question, it is clear that my position could not be described as disappointment. Rather, it is a kind of difference in methods and approach with some of the leaderships. I do not know who among us is right and who among us is wrong. It may be that we are all right or we are all wrong--only God knows. I do not want to justify myself, contrary to God's command, "therefore justify not yourselves, He knows best who it is that guards against evil" (Koran 53:32)

[Question] How can we assure that the experiment is not repeated?

[Answer] There is no better guarantee of this than maturity of the party experiment, rooting the foundations of democracy inside and outside the parties and assuring commitment and clarity of the opinion of the citizens and parties.

[Question] A basic point about the need of commitment to principles is contained in the saying "departing from the principle does not achieve the goal." It is not reasonable for me to leave one party in order to be appointed to another party. In general, can this behavior not be seen as a kind of pursuit of personal desire?

[Answer] In my reply to your first question, I explained that all of the parties share certain principles and values. They differ in approach and amount. All believe in democracy and social justice, for example, but they differ on the issue of practical application. How much should be given? What are its limits? How can social justice be applied? What areas does it touch?

Accordingly, I say that in fact I have not abandoned any of the values in which I believe. I am still as I was. I believe in all the values that we honor as citizens who love their homeland, love their God, and strive for a just, proper, free and equal society.

I want to mention an important point here, but not in my own defense. I do not absolve my self, the baser self which incites to evil, except that my Lord has been merciful, my merciful, much-forgiving Lord. The point is that when I resigned from the Labor Party I did not receive an appointment in the National Party. This is a two-fold error, an error of the stage and

a historical error.

The truth is, that when I resigned the Labor Party, I remained independent for more than a year and a half. For reasons which have been mentioned previously, and for the specific motivations which I have mentioned previously--in the pages of MAYU and other newspapers--I announced my joining the National Party without aspiration for a post or position. Perhaps you know that I joined the party as an ordinary member, particularly compared to the position of leadership I had had in the Labor Party . . . and what followed, my disqualification from candidacy for the Peoples' Assembly and loss of my district, of which and of whose residents I was proud. I must ask: What is the harm if I or someone else have personal desires, as long as they do not violate a value, contradict a principle, injure public welfare or violate national needs? Why do we try to accuse workers in the public domain of having personal desires? It is even worse that some workers in the public domain try to deny them and refute them. Why do we deny what is entirely human? Do I not have the right of every man to dream, to hope and to aspire? Of course, it is important that all of this be within the framework of society's values, which we all strive to honor. It is more important that these personal desires not conflict with the aspirations of society, its desires and interests, and that they do not violate the rights of others or disparage their humanity.

[Question] Some hold it against the parties, including the NDP, that they are not trying to solve the problems of the masses.

[Answer] This question is not clear to me. The opposition parties, for example, are parties out of power, unable to carry out solutions to problems as they would like. They can not do so unless they gain power. The ruling party, no matter which it is, must inevitably strive to solve the problems of the masses. The National Party now has a plan, agreed upon in the legislative committee, which it is carrying out and supervising. What is the goal of a party if not the calculation of solutions to the problems of the people, seeking to overcome them, to follow their progress, to rescue them from difficulties and obstructions. A party may succeed fully or partially in this. But I must say that solution of the problems of the masses is a goal of the government. It remains thus, within the limits of availability and capability and resources, according to the priorities of problems and their effects on the citizens. We can not ignore the fact that there are many shortcomings, and a large backlog of accumulated problems, or that the population is increasing every year. The means to confront these are not adequate and capacity falls short of that which is desired. Also, we must not forget many of the social, local and international changes, and also human hopes and desires.

[Question] The parties are accused of not displaying sufficient endeavor in light of the commitment required. Further, it is charged that they have become far removed from their mass bases. Nothing proves this more than the general elections. They do not reflect a party atmosphere. They reflected worry about hidden tendencies and movements which have not yet

crystallized into parties, such as the religious movement or the Marxist movement.

[Answer] I have no answer to this charge. I do not reject it and I do not accept it, because the criterion here is practical application. But I do say that what happened in the general elections does not demonstrate that the parties are far removed from their mass bases. Rather, they demonstrate that the existing parties do not satisfy all of the political tendencies present on the scene. This is true, to a large degree.

[Question] Does this mean that we still need to establish new parties in order to comprehend all political affiliations and movements?

[Answer] This, as I said, will happen after the party experiment matures. As for now, I do not think we need this before we establish the foundations of the various parties presently on the scene. As this point, we need time to apply and crystallize the concept of party maturity and to deepen the experience of democratic practice more than we need new parties.

[Question] Some are calling for establishment of a national youth organization. What is your point of view, particularly given that youth are needed to lead change in all fields, and particularly because any party which does not encompass the young becomes a transitory value?

[Answer] I do not know how a national youth organization could be established, given party diversity. I might understand this in terms of the youth organization belonging to a single party. This was the case previously with us, under the Socialist Union, which was a single organization. We had a national youth organization, called the "Youth Organization." In this form, there is harmony within the youth organization, which leads, in turn, to a single general organization. As for our accepting, calling for and supporting the idea of a multi-party system, I think that the youth are a pillar of any party or movement. I do not see how a single youth organization could lead to a number of different parties.

[Question] How is it possible to achieve organization seriousness, distance from the tumult of the media and a strengthening of feelings of commitment? I ask, are the current National Party constituents suitable to face the battle of development?

[Answer] Organization and seriousness are methods of working, of organizing life and a means of existence. They must be analyzed into their important elements.

One: Belief in God, country and society.

Two: Learning and knowledge, which are the basis of all work.

Three: Self-confidence, willingness to make sacrifices and give freely, altruism and self denial.

Here we must not neglect the social and psychological factors of our people, the legacy of their past, their current problems and their desires for the future. Moreover, we must by no means forget the Egyptian personality. In my opinion, a group of thinkers, artists, psychologists and social scientists should sit down in each party, studying these factors, telling the leaders things that will help them achieve organization, goodness and seriousness as ways to this society and its politicians and leadership at all levels.

Concerning your question about facing the battle of development and the current National Party constituents, I find no contradiction here. The Egyptian, whenever he joins together with an Egyptian brother, when he believes in his cause, gives liberally and capably when he has confidence in himself and his leaders. It is up to leaderships to extract the best and most beautiful from the mass bases, and to inspire them to believe enthusiastically in development as a path to salvation which merits faith. This is the necessary battle of the next stage.

[Question] The dynamic character of development and the burdens of life require the separation of party and government. What picture do you see?

[Answer] The opposite of what your question suggests. The dynamic character of development and the burdens of life require contact between party and government, not separation. They require increased ties, not quarreling. They require something greater than cooperation, solidarity, not dissension. The party is the larger vessel. Its executive side is similar to a government and ministers of the party. Its parliamentary side is similar to the parliamentary organization. To achieve development and to confront the burdens of life, relationships between the mother vessel and all sides must be strong. Otherwise, the picture does not call forth optimism. It is not possible to achieve the development desired without mutual effort and solidarity among all.

[Question] How can we avoid, in the party, the struggles which might develop between the executive and political leaderships of the state?

[Answer] I think, firstly, that expression of opinion is a right guaranteed to each individual member, ordinary or leading, executive or political, because, as you know, we live in a democratic climate and we want to assure this and live within it. The first pillar of democracy is freedom of opinion and its guarantee and its preservation. There follows from this, democratically speaking, the right of difference in opinion and differences of opinions. As they said in former times, "nothing may be allowed to corrupt love." Difference of opinion is permitted and desired. The path to decision is by way of discussion, persuasion or conviction, as long as the goal is the general interest. Knowledge and correct information is the basis upon which dialogue and opinion focus.

As for conflicts, they are unusual and strange, particularly since they are within a family with agreed goals and unified orientation which believes in one idea and method.

[Question] But what if conflicts do develop within the framework which you just described?

[Answer] It is the same. I say that any conflict is a departure from the principles of democracy and conscious commitment to the party with which the antagonists are associated. A party, any party, must take a stand toward the sides of any struggle within it, including [word illegible] and the determination to settle the struggle to the benefit of truth, the nation and the higher interests of the people.

[Question] The National Party was accused, in the previous stage, of setting up deep psychological barriers between it and the practice of organized political work. In your view, does this barrier still exist?

[Answer] In mass action generally, and party work in particular, the psychological barrier does not disappear, as between night and day. I have found, as I pointed out previously, that organization and earnestness are the basis of party work. I can not imagine a successful party without organization. I can not imagine a good outcome without earnestness. I fear, what is more frightening, that we are all ignoring completely, and those accusing the party are forgetting, the nature of the stage and the circumstances of the parties--their creation and establishment, the circumstances of political activity and the changes which are occurring in the domestic, Arab and international arena.

True, all of these factors might create certain circumstances and influence, in some form or another, such that some might imagine the existence of barriers or psychological factors. In any case, I hope that we are triumphing together over all psychological, material and partisan barriers, and that we are setting out together in an earnest, sincere effort on behalf of an Egyptian renaissance, and Arab national awakening and an international standing which demands appreciation and respect among all nations and peoples.

[Question] What is the current strategy of the National Party to gain mass support and to thwart the expansion of the mass support of the opposition parties, especially since moving the masses can not be done from office?

[Answer] In my conception, any party strategy must be built on a number of bases, which I set out as follows.

1. Truthfulness in speech and sincerity in action.
2. Cultivation of trust and emphasis on mutual understanding between the leadership and the masses and between the government and the broad mass of the people by means of sincere interaction with public opinion and sure movement toward solution of the peoples' problems.

3. Cleanliness of hand and nobility of intention, with dependence on the help of God, mighty and powerful.

4. Sound organization on scientific bases and conscious principles, as well as earnestness in action and setting the best example and good model.

This is what we are trying to do in this stage and in the coming stage "God grants success to those who are sincere, and singles out those who are God-fearing. He guides everyone along the even path."

[Question] To what degree does the National Party express, in its current content, the interests of the groups associated with it. In another sense, what is the common denominator of party commitment among the various groups, in view of the fact that loss of the common denominator leads to tyranny of one group over another.

[Answer] This question requires profound analysis and conscious study, not just by the National Party, but by all parties on the Egyptian scene today.

It is necessary to study the changes and permanencies of Egyptian political life. We must understand fully the general climate and the psychological and social circumstances through which we have passed and through which we are passing. Then, as I mentioned, we must look at the formation and development of the parties.

All of this information must be available to whoever attempts to answer this question, particularly since our legacy from the single organization, mentally, intellectually and politically, throws dark shadows on the thought and commitment of many.

In my view, the parties have generally not yet expressed a unified, crystallized idea for the groups of members associated with them. In my opinion, they are closer to groupings than parties. Except for this, there would not be such a large number of changes and such a small number of permanencies.

I believe that it is not the appropriate time to judge any of the parties, just as it is still early to judge the party experiment as a whole. More time is needed, and a deeper experience and more democracy, inside and outside each party. It is necessary that the experiment reach a truly mature stage.

[Question] How can we achieve this?

[Answer] Until we reach this, we must expect a great many changes in the form, the theme and the individual members. Great clarity is needed in opinions and ideas. Then, psychological and intellectual stability will occur in the understanding of individuals, party programs and concepts.

Whatever the case in the future, I hope, by God, that the parties do not represent a faction or a group, since this would cause extensive political and social harm. It would be much better for parties to be expressions of

various types or various forms of harmonious society. It is true that each party has its ways and forms, but in the end they adjust to the interests of society, without triumphing over a sector, group or faction. It is enough to witness other countries, where social divisions and cracks have had a harmful influence on the interests of the community as a whole, on the needs of society as a unit and the interests of the people as a cohesive bloc.

[Question] Does this mean that there are no divisions or struggles in the National Party, that it is not true when it is alleged that one group or faction of the party has triumphed over its opponents in another group?

[Answer] To the extent of my knowledge, I do not know about the struggle to which you refer. If there were any, its existence would not be denied.

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EGYPT

#### AGRICULTURE MINISTER QUESTIONED ON REAL ESTATE DEALS

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 15 May 85 p 6

[Interview with Agriculture Minister Dr Yusuf Wali, "Mr. Minister, Do You Have Anything Else To Say?", date and place not specified]

[Text] AL-AHALI has obtained some serious information. In Qarun Fayyum, half the agrarian reform beneficiaries are being evicted from their land, and the other 60 have already been evicted.

The agriculture minister's relatives and brothers are violating the agrarian reform law and the local administration law by purchasing land by proxy and presenting statements to the effect that there is no relationship between themselves and the minister.

Farm equipment is being placed at the service of the minister and his gardens.

Because of the seriousness of the accusations, and because we believe that whenever there is responsibility there must be answerability, we have subjected the minister to a press scrutiny to examine with him the complaints some citizens have made to the General Investigations Department [GID].

Even though some of the questions were sensitive, and the minister was fasting, he was very clear and open-hearted.

#### Al-Fayyum Civil Proceedings

[Question] In al-Fayyum Civil Proceeding No 42 of 1981, the litigants demanded the eviction of 44 beneficiary peasants from the villages of 'Azbat al-Manshiyah and 'Azbat Ahmad Affandi, both of which are part of a land holding in the name of Dr Yusuf Wali, one of those requesting the eviction. How is it that the minister can relinquish his state salary, as he has repeatedly announced, and then evict peasants for not paying rent?

[Answer] The suit was lodged in the name of the estate as a whole when the land was jointly owned. I have had no tenant peasants since 1968. It might be asked whether the minister is a hardened criminal or a virtuous man for

the tenants to have left the land without dispute ever since 1968, but this is what actually happened!

As for my brothers, they are entitled to do this, and I cannot dissuade them as long as the peasants are not paying their rent and have not paid for a long time.

[Question] But we are trying to say, in a friendly way, that those peasants were pressured to give up the land. Besides, the agents, such as Hanna Sa'd Mu'awwad, have been accused of collecting rents without giving any receipts, or pretending that the rents have not been received, so that the peasants cannot pay later on and are evicted. Isn't the fact that the Minister of Agriculture and Food Security's own village still has hungry people enough to prove what we are saying?

[Answer] I know the Egyptian peasant very well. One time I went out to a village in Kafr al-Shaykh and asked for Hassan. The peasants looked at me and my car and said, "You really know how to live, father." I told them, "I came to offer the village some aid, as I agreed to with Hassan yesterday." They replied in a strange way, saying, "You want Hassan to remain a small peasant." What I am saying is that the peasant, whether you grant his request or forbid it, is a great complainer. Let me say that our village produces 3 million Egyptian pounds worth of onions a year, and is not poor. It will be getting electricity in 2 months.

[Question] As for onions, there is a decree prohibiting agrarian reform peasants in Qarun from planting them. The peasants feel that this will make them unable to pay their rents so that they can be easily evicted.

[Answer] I don't know anything about that, although there might be such a decree. I will look into it.

[Question] You said that you were very popular in Fayyum, or, to be exact, in your village, but the peasants state that they did not vote for you in the elections and that their votes were blocked. As proof, they gave us the names of three persons who voted who were dead--Dallal Muahmmad Hamid, Khadijah Mihlal 'Abd-al-Rahman, and Khalifah Ahmad Mahmud.

[Answer] In my election campaign, I countered idea with idea, since the NPUG is very strong in al-Fayyum. I have achieved everything I promised, or am on the way to achieving it. Where you in the NPUG differ from me is in the popularity I have achieved there through using my ministerial decisions to achieve the electoral interests of the National Party.

[Question] But the destitute peasant Zaydan 'Abd-al-'Aziz came to you with a complaint and you kicked him out of the ministry and wouldn't listen to his complaint.

[Answer] This peasant had sent his complaint to the president, who referred it to the governor of al-Fayyum, who took care of it without coming to me, for this man is not one of my tenants.

### The GID Notification

[Question] The first incident was the sale by proxy of 19 feddans belonging to the Real Estate Administration to Muhammad, Mustafa, Isma'il and Thurayya Wali, during 1983/84, for the price of 800 pounds per feddan, far less than the land is worth. Articles 10 and 11 of the local administration law prohibit local council members from entering into any land auction within the governorate. Furthermore, the purchasers presented statements to the effect that they were not related to the minister. Every time this observation is made, the minister replies that if it can be proven that such statements were presented, the sale will be completely cancelled.

[Answer] This land was bought before I took over the Agriculture Ministry and before the date mentioned.

[Question] The second incident was the open auction sale of 5 plots of land from 2 to 4 feddans in area along the Yaqut irrigation basin on 25 May 1982 to Thurayya Wali, her mother, and the wife of Qarun Village Bank Director Muhasin Jabilah Muhammad. The price per feddan varied from 770 to 990 pounds.

[Answer] This auction was never ratified and never will be, so that the land can be put up for auction a second time in order to achieve a higher revenue for the state. Mrs. Muhasin Jabilah Muhammad is from Cairo and is not related to our family.

[Question] Two plots of land covering 10.7 feddans along the Upper Tunis irrigation basin were sold to Dr Mahir Wali and a citizen named Ramadan 'Abd-al-Mu'izz, the minister's supervisor, for prices ranging from 451 to 470 pounds per feddan.

[Answer] Ramadan is an agrarian reform beneficiary who manages things for some of my brothers. He has no connection with my 33-feddan garden, which I look after by myself with the help of my sister.

### Other Plots of Land

[Question] The third incident was a plot of agrarian reform land covering 4 feddans 18 kerats along the Yaqut basin, which was sold to the minister's sister. This was agrarian reform land which the children of 'Umar Isma'il Abu-Jabal, the son of the minister's sister, had bought. When the minister learned that it was restricted, he stopped the auction and returned the land.

[Answer] Although papers were submitted testifying to the lack of any relation to me, the law will apply to the purchasers and the sale will be invalidated.

(AL-AHALI: It is well-known that the agrarian reform law prohibits anyone whose land has been sequestered from making an offer to buy it if it is put up for sale.)

[Question] The fourth incident is a 7-feddan plot of land in Qarun which the minister's agent 'Abdallah Mayhub al-Ra'i offered to buy and which he got at auction for 2,400 pounds. However, the minister invalidated the sale and put the land up for auction again.

[Answer] 'Abdallah was not my agent,, but worked for me a year ago. I fired him after having misgivings about his attempt to sell my garden's dates last year. I would like to say that putting this land up for sale was a trap for some agrarian reform employees there, to expose their mistakes and call them to account. That worked out, and the land will be put up for auction again on 23 May 1985. If you ask me how someone like 'Abdallah, who is poor, could make an offer to buy 17 feddans of land, I tell you that he could, for he has livestock worth more than 10,000 pounds.

#### Storehouses and Machinery

[Question] The fifth incident: in the al-Nazlah area of Abshaway, there was a storehouse owned by Dr Mahir Wali and rented to the Agricultural Development and Credit Bank in al-Fayyum. The bank was evicted, and the owner repossessed his storehouse and sold its contents for more than 7,000 pounds.

[Answer] This land is located within a residential area, and the same laws do not apply to it as apply to agricultural land. Furthermore, I know that my brother obtained it by court order.

[Question] But why weren't those who were late in paying their rent called to account, to make it easy for your brother to obtain it by court order?

[Answer] This happened before I came to the ministry.

[Question] And you built a fancy house for yourself in your gardens, on agricultural land, in violation of the law?

[Answer] I have been building it since 1980, at which time I received the first 5 tons of cement. The building is still unfinished.

[Question] Eyewitnesses have testified that dredges and tractors belonging to the Agriculture Ministry agencies in al-Fayyum have been sent to service your gardens by Agricultural Director Dr Yasin. What are the facts? What was the date and amount of your last payment to the Qarun Society in return for using this equipment?

[Answer] All of that was done by hire, and we had our own hoes. I sent a confidential letter, No. 666 dated 25 January 1985, to Dr Yasin, asking him to send me a statement on the transactions of mechanized agriculture stations in al-Fayyum, especially the central station, showing who had dealings with them and how much money they were receiving, in order to stamp out such activities. Before that I wrote to the director general for agriculture, stressing that there must be no machinery dealings with the Wali family without referring to me first.

The same can be said about the animal resources development society in the village of Qutah, headed by Amin Hasan Wali, and the fodder it distributes.

#### A Sidenote to the Interview

The agriculture minister suspended Darwish, a senior agrarian reform employee in al-Fayyum, because the peasants had complained that he had exploited his position to manipulate procurement operations. Although the investigation conducted by the agrarian reform authority acquitted Darwish, the minister ordered that his suspension be continued until the results of the state security investigations came in.

The agriculture minister ordered that service centers be opened as quickly as possible in al-Fayyum's districts so as to obtain the fees for their use in advance. This move came right after AL-AHALI's article on how some of the minister's relatives were using ministry machinery.

We mentioned to Minister Dr Yusuf Wali the Qarun people's objection to the sale of the land on which their houses were standing for 1.5 pounds per square meter, which is far above their means, as well as their desire to remain tenants and not become owners.

The minister said, "We shall put the price of the land on the installment plan, and we shall punish the moneychangers who cheated the peasants."

Yusuf granted an interview to Egyptian television, to be broadcast on the first day of Ramadan, in which he praised the opposition press and its serious concern for agricultural issues.

The minister referred to inaccurate reports published by some newspapers and magazines, which made his attitude towards the opposition parties seem inconsistent, and attributed the recent attacks on him by the opposition press to this.

Dr Wali said that when he took over the ministry, he received murder threats from some landowners if he did not straighten out landowner-tenant relations.

We told him, "We received similar threats from the tenants if we refused to stand up for them."

At present the Agriculture Ministry is studying the idea of transferring ownership of 800,000 feddans of agrarian reform land to its tenants. When we said that the thousands of peasants would be unable to purchase the land, Dr Yusuf replied that the price would be nominal and would be paid in installments.

The thousands of summonses which were delivered to the peasants because of the agriculture minister's decision to increase cotton acreage after the planting date will be lifted soon, and Dr Yusuf said that this will make the National Party very popular.

Enough seeds to plant 54,000 feddans of rice will be distributed free of charge this year. All we can hope is that some day we will see the produce from all these feddans on the market.

## He Denies and We Affirm

He denied all responsibility for Rihu rice, emphasizing that Dr al-Jabali was the first person to introduce this rice in 1973, after having experimented on it for 2 years.

When we said that various research centers had spent 10 years studying this type of rice and had come up with entirely different results, Dr Yusuf replied, "It isn't like that at all. Some people will plant Rihu rice again this year even though it is dangerous to do so, and we will help them fight the diseases which afflict this type of rice.

"The same thing goes for Philipine rice, which will be planted over large areas, for the farmers have seed rice left over from last year.

"We are working with the Labor and the Liberal Parties. I have nominated 'Abd-al-Hamid Ghazi for membership in the Cooperative Federation, and I have brought in Mahmud Fawzi, editor of AL-AHRAR's agriculture page, as a member of the federation. I have confidence in both, although there may be someone from the NPUG who is suitable for nomination."

At this point I said to him, "Sir, the most educated and aware Egyptian peasants belong to the NPUG, and they are calling for the establishment of a peasants' federation and a peasants' cooperative movement. They include Muhammad 'Arraqi, Shahindah Muqallid, 'Ariyah Nasif, Nadi 'Umar and 'Abduh Tusun."

The minister said, "In Egypt, it costs from 300 to 1,000 pounds a year to raise a single animal. As a model program, the ministry is operating a station in Kawm Umm Shim where the costs have been reduced to 15 pounds a year."

AL-AHALI responded that the figure that he cited proves the extent of the Egyptian peasant's tribulations in raising his livestock, for the sake of which he takes out crushing loans for fodder.

## Stand With Me Against Food Security

[Question] In previous interviews you have said that to import dairy products, meat, fish and eggs would save Egypt 750 million pounds a year. In the National Party there is an opposing call to increase food security loans. Finally, the localities' plan to put the matter to test threatens the Egyptian peasant with loss, through taxes and debts to the banks.

[Answer] This is an important issue on which you should vote with me. I feel that in these areas there is no relative advantage worth mentioning. If these loans were directed towards other areas of productivity, the gardens would yield a much higher return.

Here in Egypt a kilogram of meat costs 4 pounds, whereas the same amount can be imported for 140 piasters. The issue is primarily ideological. We lose

a lot in the name of local production, especially here. If this program were changed, we could make up the areas required for lentils by taking a million feddans away from clover.

Because huge investments have been made in this area, there are chicken hatcheries, paddocks and processing plants which we cannot tear down. However, these activities must be suspended at their present levels.

We have stopped egg production at the agricultural companies because summer is almost here. We succeeded in getting an agreement to export eggs to Iraq even though egg prices in Egypt are high.

[Question] A year ago, it was decided that we would be self-sufficient in grains in 7 years. Does this still hold true?

[Answer] Yes, except for wheat, although we are making behind-the-scene efforts. At the end of the specified time, we will have sufficient hard currency from increased fruit and vegetable exports to buy the necessary wheat. There is always sorghum, which can be used in emergencies when there is a shortage of wheat.

#### Strawberries and Eating With the Eyes

[Question] But how can we increase our foreign currency revenues when most of the strawberries we grow are not exported, but create a local demand of no use to us? Are we to be threatened with total dependence because of a morsel of bread?

[Answer] We have planted only 4,500 feddans with strawberries, and last year we exported 1,000 tons of them. An American study says that planting 15,000 feddans of strawberry plants can provide us enough money to buy the wheat we want. However, strawberries are a gambler's crop, like potatoes and asparagus, and for this reason we have chosen an area like al-Isma'iliyah for them. Don't forget that the Egyptian people eat with their eyes, and like the color red. Therefore, strawberries are important and have become a party issue. Through such crops, the National Party is opening up new horizons for the people.

#### The Israelis and Research in Egypt

[Question] In the seventies, Egyptian irrigation experts went to America in order to organize an irrigation system along the Mississippi. Israel, America and Jordan have now entered the field of agricultural and irrigation research in Egypt in a manner which is incompatible with the demands of national sovereignty and Egypt's expertise in agriculture and irrigation.

[Answer] If you mean Nubi', for example, it was put up for international bidding. Israel, France, America and Jordan submitted bids, and the contract was awarded to Jordan, even before we had relations with that country.

It is a desert, yes, but it has taken Israeli expertise and adapted it to the environment.

**The Masses**

The minister said, "Science is an international language. We have to know what the Israelis are doing in agriculture and how they grow their crops. There is no great distance between us in this respect, although I might mention that our expertise in modern irrigation methods is limited.

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CSO: 4504/371

EGYPT

## PLAN TO SAVE NILE WATER

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 21 May 85 p 2

[Text] THE Ministry of Irrigation has prepared a work paper to deal with the possibility of drought. The paper includes a number of proposals and projects that will be implemented in the light of the coming flood in August, said the First Under-secretary of the Ministry of Irrigation and Chairman of the Irrigation Administration, Mr Fuad Abdul Aziz.

The Ministry has also started a number of executive measures including the redistribution of irrigation water, controlling irrigation water, and rationalising consumption.

Mr Abdul Aziz also said

that the Ministry's paper includes the determination of water needed for irrigating rice crops; combating weeds so as to reduce the amounts of water wasted; operating water wells in the Delta in order to supply nearby canals, and allocating water drained from the High Dam for agriculture, irrigation, and industrial projects.

The paper also recommended the application of night shifts in irrigation systems so as to benefit from irrigation water supplied at night. Such night shifts in irrigation were used before the building of the High Dam.

Mr Abdul Aziz said that

agriculture companies implementing land reclamation projects will also be obliged to apply irrigation shifts round the clock.

Solving the problem of water drained from canals passing by sandy soil, lining these canals with concrete or plastic sheets, installing special falls at the ends of canals to prevent the drainage of water, introducing crops which need small amount of irrigation water and others that could be irrigated with salt water in order to use drainage water after recycling it in irrigating these crops, are also included in the paper. G88

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EGYPT

## RADAR NETWORK FOR ALEXANDRIA

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 15 May 85 p 3

[Text] WORK is under way at Alexandria Harbour to establish a radar network which is to become operational by the end of the year. Mr Anwar Hegazi, Chairman of the Harbour Authority said that 10 Egyptian engineers will be sent to Japan to attend training courses on the operation of radar.

All projects conducted at the harbour within the framework of the third year of the five-year development plan are being carried out according to schedule, said Mr Hegazi. Preparations are being made for the construction of a flyover at the Harbour, he said.

As regards the harbour quays, Mr Hegazi pointed out that quay No 4 has

already been rebuilt over a total length of 170 metres and it is now being operated at its full capacity which is 200,000 tons annually. Renovation work is also being conducted on quay No 86 and will be finished during next month, said Mr Hegazi.

The southern breakwater has been strengthened, said the Harbour Chairman. He pointed out that work being done on the northern breakwater is due to be completed by next year.

Speaking of the new Harbour at Dekheila, Mr Hegazi stated that during this year the crudes and metals quay will be completed. The equipment required for the quay will be installed by the middle of next year and will

then be ready to receive ships. The first stage of the harbour will be completed early in 1987. About 80 per cent of this stage is already finished, said Mr Hegazi.

The Alexandria Harbour Authority is taking great interest in participating in international conferences on harbour development. Accordingly, Mr Ali Soliman, Director-General of Traffic at the Harbour represented Egypt in the Harbour Development Conference held in Hamburg, West Germany, on May 4. Seventy-five representatives from various countries took part in the 8-day conference which takes place every two years. The next conference will be held in Canada. — GSS

CSO: 4500/131

EGYPT

STRATEGIC CHEMICALS DEVELOPED

Phosphate Production Raised

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 3 May 85 p 2

[Text] BRITAIN will extend to Egypt a ten million sterling soft loan to finance new expansions of El-Sebaia phosphate mines in Aswan which will increase their production capacity from a quarter of a million tons of raw phosphate to half a million tons of processed phosphate, worth LE 30 million.

Board Chairman of Abu Zaabal Company for Chemical Industries, Sabri Aglan said that the project's equipment which will cost LE 40 million will be supplied by Britain.

The production of the project which will cost LE 50 million will start within one year.

Sulphur Imports Increased

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 4 May 85 p 3

[Text] AN industrial and trade delegation leaves Cairo for Baghdad on May 10 for a week-long visit to Iraq. The delegation includes the Board Chairmen of Abu Zaabal Company for Chemical Industries and the Arab Company for trade and representatives of the Foreign Trade Ministry.

Head of Abu Zaabal Company Sabri Aglan said that an Egyptian-Iraqi agreement will be signed during the visit, whereby Iraq exports to Egypt raw sulphur worth LE 15 million, within the framework of the joint trade exchange agreement to be used in some chemical industries in Egypt.

He added that the Egyptian delegation will discuss the possibility of reaching an agreement under which Egypt exports to Iraq some chemical products.

Coal from USSR

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 10 May 85 p 2

[Text] EGYPT will export 7,000 tons of ammonium nitrates to Greece for the first time, and this is valued at 1,500,000 dollars. An agreement to this end has been signed between Nasr Company for Coke and Basic Chemical Industries in Helwan, and Greece, said Mr Adel el-Mozi, the Company Chairman. He pointed out that this commodity is used mainly in military production.

Meanwhile, Mr el-Mozi said that Egypt will import 250,000 tons of coal from the Soviet Union. An agreement for the import of this coal which is valued at 25 million dollars will soon be signed with the Soviet Union, said Mr el-Mozi. He added that the imported coal will be used to operate some new coke factories here.

CSO: 4500/129

EGYPT

## NEW POWER PLANTS

### New Station in Arish City

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 17 May 85 p 2

[Text] ESTABLISHING a new power station in Arish City with the capacity of 15 megawatts is under way. The station will be implemented and operated before the end of this month. The new power station will supply factories, industrial and urban expansion projects with electricity, said Mr Mohamed Kamal, the Director of the Electricity Department in North Sinai Governorate. After operating the new station, the power capacity will be 44 megawatts in el-Arish. Mr Kamal added that Rafah city power station is being expanded to raise its capacity from 4 to 6 megawatts in addition to Be'r el-Abd power station which is under way. On completion it will provide power for 30 villages.

### Gas-Driven Station for Damietta

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 19 May 85 p 2

[Text] THE Minister of Energy, Mr Maher Abaza recently laid the foundation stone for a large gas-drive power station to be established in Daimetta on 200 feddans of land in a bid to supply productive, land reclamation, and food sufficient projects with the required energy. The station is to be located in an area 5 kilometres away from Abu Madi natural gas field.

Minister Abaza said that the total cost of the station, which is expected to have a capacity of 600 megawatts, is estimated at 300 million dollars. He was accompanied by Dr Ahmed el-Gewili, the Governor of Damietta.

Meanwhile, Mr Abaza inaugurated the Sinbelawein transformer station and inspected work procedure at el-Mansoura high pressure transformer station (220,000 volts) to be inaugurated within a few days. The Governor of Dakahlia, Mr Saad el-Sherbini accompanied Mr Abaza on his tour.

In a speech delivered by the Minister to members of the parliamentary group of Damietta and Dakahlia, he said that this year's plan is aimed at raising the efficiency of performance in the electricity sector and improving service standards in regional power distribution grids as well as conducting maintenance work on various transformer stations and lines.

Three New Stations Operational

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 22 May 85 p 2

[Text] THREE new units for generating electricity have already started operation with a capacity of 565,000 kilo watt hour, (kwh) said the Minister of Energy, Mr Maher Abaza. The total amount of power generated has reached 33 billion kwh annually following the operation of these stations, while the total consumption is about 31 billion kwh. The Chairman of the Egyptian Electricity Authority, Mr Abdul Hamid El-Sayad, said that these stations are the second unit in Shubra El-Kheima station which has a capacity of 315,000 kwh, the other unit is in Ataqa power station, Suez, and the third in Damanhur gas-driven power station, Beheir governorate.

CSO: 4500/130

EGYPT

OIL, GAS PRODUCTION TO EXPAND

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 5 May 85 p 2

[Text]

THE Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources, Mr. Abdul Hadi Kandil, has urged petroleum companies working in the Western Desert to double the number of oil-rigs and the number of working teams in order to implement the new plan which aims at increasing oil resources to face increasing consumption, Mr. Hamdi el-Beni, Chairman of the Suez Gulf Petroleum company, said.

He added that the company, in response to the Minister's directives, has decided to increase the number of oil-rigs to four units. The company will also start magnetic studies in areas where oil prospection will be carried out in the Western Desert, he said.

Meanwhile, Badr Eddin Company for Petroleum has started to develop the big oil field, which was discovered a few months ago in the Western Desert. The Chairman of the Company, Mr. Ragaa

Farahat, said that the reserve of the field is estimated at 0.7 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, a quantity which is enough to cover the requirements of Egypt for at least 25 years.

The Chairman of the Company also said that a new pipeline will be laid from the site of the field to Dahshur, Giza Governorate, a distance of 300 kilometres, and that production is expected to start in 1987.

Feasibility studies revealed that production of the new field of natural gas will help save about 20,000 barrels of crude oil which is required for industrial and domestic purposes, Mr. Farahat said.

On the other hand, the General Company for Petroleum has decided to develop the recently discovered oil and natural gas fields in the southern sector of the Western Desert, in abul Gharadik area, according to an official source at the company. GSS

CSO: 4500/130

EGYPT

## NEW HARBOR IN AL-DAKHILAH IN 1986

Cairo EGYPTIAN MAIL in English 18 May 85 p 2

[Article by Hafez Fayed]

[Text]

Construction works are currently under way at the new Dekhila harbour, west Alexandria, with a view to completing the first stage of the project early in 1986. This stage will have a capacity of 11.5 million tons of commodities and raw materials required by the new industrial area as well as the America free zone, said Mr Ragaa el-Hadi Chairman of the Executive Body of the General Authority for Industrial Complexes affiliated to the Ministry of Industry.

Mr el-Hadi stated that he is now preparing a report on the current achievements at the new harbour which will cost a total of LE 700 million.

The report will then be submitted to the Minister of Industry, Mr Mohamed Abdul Wahab. He pointed out that the project when completed will have a full capacity of 41 million tons.

The first stage of the harbour which has been started in 1981 includes the neces-

sary quays for receiving raw materials and goods, the extension of the railway roads and building the breakwater, said Mr el-Hadi. He further said that the suitability of the area for the project has been proved through a number of scientific experiments conducted in France.

The new harbour represents an important stage in Egypt's economic development as the trade movement is increasing between Egypt and the world both in exports and imports, said Mr el-Hadi. The project will help put an end completely to accumulation cases in the various Egyptian harbour specially in Alexandria where the harbour is being operated at its maximum capacity, he added.

By the completion of the iron crudequays which comes within the framework of the first stage of the Dekhila harbour, the new reinforcing iron complex project in Dekhila will start production.

CSO: 4500/131

EGYPT

BRIEFS

IRON FROM THE BLOC--TO make up for the shortage of reinforcing iron in the local market, 400,000 tons will arrive from East Germany and Czechoslovakia between now and the end of June, said Dr Ahmed Shalabi, the Director of Tractors and Engineering Company. These quantities will be distributed among both public and private sectors. Part of the consignments will be allocated for the Ministry of Housing to be used in building low-cost flats. New agreements will be signed with other countries to meet the reinforcing iron shortage. [Text] [Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 13 May 85 p 2]

TRADE WITH IRAQ--EGYPT will import from Iraq one million tons of cement worth some 19 million U.S. dollars and 95,000 tons of sulphur worth nearly 15 million dollars. A relevant agreement was reached during a visit to Iraq this week by an Egyptian trade mission. Meanwhile, Iraq and Egypt signed, in March and April, agreements to export Egyptian commodities worth 35 million dollars to Iraq. [Text] [Cairo EGYPTIAN MAIL in English 25 May 85 p 2]

STEEL INDUSTRY EXPANSION--THE International Bank Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) approved the financing of the second stage of the expansion at the Iron and steel Company at Helwan. By means of the projected expansion which will commence next year, the productive capacity will be raised to 2,200 million tons annually, which is double the present capacity. Director of the projects sector of the company, Mr Hassan Abul Dahab said the investments of this stage amount to about LE one billion. It incorporates the establishment of a huge furnace for producing steel and rolled steel which is used in several industries. An economic delegation from the IBRD is due in Cairo next week to hold talks with officials in the Industrialisation Authority on the executive and planning measures of the project which is to be implemented over a period of three years. [Text] [Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 16 May 85 p 2]

WATER SUPPLY INCREASED--A COMPREHENSIVE plan for increasing potable water in Alexandria has been prepared by the Water Agency in the governorate. This plan which will be implemented early next year aims to increase the quantity of potable water produced from 953,000 cubic metres to 1,513,000 cubic metres daily. This increase will be achieved following the completion of the water undertakings related to improving the capacity of water stations in Seiuf, Manshia, Bab Sharqi, Ma'moura, and Mariout districts, and finishing the development of the potable water canal and reservoirs, said an official source at

the Alexandria Water Agency. This plan will help to meet the increasing consumption of water which is inevitably due to the continuous urban expansion. The implementation of this plan will cost LE 42 million. [Text] [Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 16 May 85 p 2]

**NILE BRIDGE PLANNED--PREMIER** Kamal Hassan Ali approved the allocation of funds required for the establishment of a new 2 kilometre-long bridge over the Nile at Mansura to serve the Governorates of Damietta, Gharbia, Sharkia and Kafr el-Sheikh. The bridge will absorb the expected increase in traffic with the forthcoming operation of the new Damietta harbour. Studies proved that the ideal spot for erecting the bridge is adjacent to Mansura University towards the west of the city, said the Governor of Dakahlia, Mr Saad el-Sherbini. The bridge, the cost of which is LE 15 million, will lead to solving traffic problems in a radical way, making for an easy traffic flow on the main roads and should at the same time, reduce accidents, he said. The site of the bridge was chosen in the light of a field study conducted by a technical committee, the governorate, Mansura University and the General Authority for Roads and Bridges. The resulting report, said the Secretary of the Governorate, Mr Hamed el-Seiedi, revealed that the Nile course in this areas is without any bends. [Text] [Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 15 May 85 p 2]

**NEW BANKNOTE DESCRIBED--THE** Central Bank of Egypt will put into circulation a note of P.T. 25 having the same design of the banknote of the same denomination which has been put into circulation as from 6-7-1981 with the exception of the following: 1--On the back appears Eagle of Salah El Din (the new emblem of the Republic) instead of Quoraich hawk. 2--The domineering colour on the face and back is in mauvish blue. [Text] [Cairo EGYPTIAN MAIL in English 18 May 85 p 3]

**INCREASED TRADE WITH FRANCE--EGYPT** is considered a very important commercial partner for France outside the European Economic Community (EEC), according to Mr Jean Paul Huchon, Director-General of the French bank "Credit Agricole" which organised the Egyptian-French symposium on agricultural mechanisation early this week. Speaking at a press conference recently he pointed out that the bank has been looking forward for many years to inaugurating another branch in Egypt. This dream became a reality on the opening of the new branch in Cairo said Mr Huchon. Egypt is considered a very important market for French exports as it imports about 10 per cent of the French exports, said Mr Huchon. Such exports are mainly foodstuffs and agricultural products--items with which the bank is mainly concerned. Mr Huchon affirmed that he is optimistic about the future of relations between Egypt and France, as well as the economic future of Egypt and the future of the bank in this big market. Furthermore, Mr Huchon announced that he informed the Governor of the Central Bank of Egypt that the French bank is ready to study suggestions, for any new projects. Besides, the bank will also be willing to finance any such projects. Mr Silvain Dambon has been chosen as the manager of the branch. [Hassan Amer] [Text] [Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 2 May 85 p 2]

**NILE WATER STUDY--THE** Ministry of Irrigation is currently revising economic feasibility studies of a project aimed at utilising 3 billion cubic metres of water which is not needed for irrigation purposes when the soil is already

saturated and which drains off into the Mediterranean. The Ministry has designs to use this surplus amount for generating power, said Mr Esam Radi, the Minister of Irrigation. The utilisation of this surplus water depends mainly on storing it in reservoirs and to make use of it in times of need. Among the Ministry's projects in this respect, is that of storing water in Wadi el-Rayyan, near Fayyum, with a view to cultivating the surrounding area said the Minister. Injecting Wadi el-Natroun with water to fill the subterranean reservoir and recycling this water later as well as desalinating water in one of the northern lakes and using it in cultivating the surrounding land, is also among such projects, said Mr Raid. [Text] [Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 1 May 85 p 2]

NEW HOSPITAL IN ISMA'ILIYAH--THE Executive Council of Ismailia Governorate approved an order to establish a 500-bed hospital at a cost of LE 20 million. The hospital will be set up on the outskirts of Ismailia. The Council also approved the building of a local broadcasting station in which modern studios and electronic equipment for radio transmission will be installed, covering the governorates of Port Said, Ismailia, Suez South and North Sinai and el-Sharkia. [Text] [Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 5 May 85 p 2]

FLOUR IMPORTS REDUCED--THREE new mills for producing fine quality flour, with a capacity of 750 tons, have been established in the three cities of el-Saf in Giza, Sohag and Port Said and will be operational during this month, said Dr Nagi Shatla, the Minister of Supply and Home Trade. The imported amounts of flour will be reduced this year from 1,300,000 tons to 750 tons only which will help save about LE one million of foreign currency, he said. The Minister signed an agreement with the Spanish Government early this week to set up a metal silo in Tanta with a capacity of 30,000 tons of grains. The Minister pointed out that this year's plan is mainly directed to the construction of three new silos within the Delta and Cairo network. [Text] [Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 20 May 85 p 2]

NEW HOSPITAL IN ASYUT--THE biggest teaching hospital in Egypt will be inaugurated in Assiut next October. The hospital includes 1,200 beds, 18 operating theatres equipped with the latest medical devices, and cost LE 20 million. The hospital also comprises an intensive care unit with 24 beds and a department for radio diagnosis, which is considered one of the latest units in the world, at a cost of 5 million dollars. The hospital also includes a radiotherapy department. [Text] [Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 22 May 85 p 2]

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SUDAN

**POST-NUMAYRI SUDAN, ROLE OF SHARI'AH DISCUSSED**

**Political Parties Debate Distribution of Power**

**East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English May 85 pp 14-15**

**[Article by Ahmed Kamal El-Din]**

**[Text]**

Now that Numeiri has gone, the question now uppermost in Sudan is "Who should handle the political affairs in the country, and by what right?" Trade union members were reportedly prominent on the streets of Khartoum, and played the decisive role in the events that toppled Numeiri. But it was the more than 60,000 Sudanese citizens whom Numeiri's regime had decided to remove from the capital, having been blamed for the riots and sabotage preceding the overthrow of the government, who have fuelled the revolution.

In the early 1980s the same hardworking people were used as a scapegoat for the increasing shortages in commodity supplies to the city. An identity card centre was established with a system to ensure the exclusion of the so-called "foreigners." The *Guardian* of London reported that eight people died in a riot at the identity card centre, shot by the pro-Numeiri security police (now dissolved).

The contrast was sharp between those who made the revolution and those who now claim it. The role of the military, described by an American spokesman as possibly "pre-emptive", was undeniably decisive. It certainly saved the country a possible bloodbath, to say the least.

Early reports on the post-coup events mentioned only three parties, the Unionist Democratic Party (UDP), the Ummah Party (UP) and the Communist Party (CP), together with the unions and

the professionals. No mention was made of the Muslim Brothers until after the meeting on April 10, four days after the Saturday coup, between General Swarreddahab and Dr Hassan Turabi, leader of the Muslim Brothers, after being brought from his prison in El-Obeid in the west-central region of Kurdufan by special plane. Two days after the meeting, the London-based daily, *Ashraq Al-Awsat* reported the once concealed fact that "the Muslim Brothers had a prominent role in the events and demonstrations... which led to the takeover by the military."

Among all these emerging forces (the four named parties, the professionals and trade unions, and the masses) only those who are duly "qualified" would be able to have a bite of the political cake. In determining such qualification, both practical and politically fundamental points need be considered.

The masses are virtually unrepresented in any way. They will carry on clamouring in the years to come for bread, not for "cake." As to the position of the unions, much speculation has already circulated. It is the basic political allegiance of each union, some say, that will ultimately decide the matter. Others say there is an emerging "independent" trend which has remained in the country during Numeiri's 16-year rule, with all its hardship and oppression. They claim they should have a say in the future of their trade unions' achievement, referring thereby to the April coup. Both arguments seem to be

well grounded and will certainly influence the Sudanese political scene in the months to come.

The fiercer and more deeply-rooted debate is the one between the powerful and the emerging political parties. "Some parties, such as the Ikhwan, are ready enough to form a government on their own." I was told by a leading Ummah party figure in London, "while others need some time to build themselves up." "Build up" refers to courting no more opportunists than necessary.

He also defended a three-year transitional civilian rule. Later, his party's proposed period was said to be five years. Another "building" party, the Communists, also advocated a five-year term. The UDP suggested two and a half years.

Reports on Friday, April 12, stated that the period of the transitional civilian government was settled in Sudan on one year from the date of handing over power by the military to the parties.

The Muslim Brothers, under the banner of the Islamic National Front, claim to be the most organised, most popular group in the country. The largest demonstration in recent Sudanese history was masterminded by their members in September, 1984, in celebration of the first anniversary of Shariah in the country. Just before the meeting between their leader and General Swaredahab, a large demonstration, reportedly hundreds of thousands (the Muslim Brothers claim half a million) marched through Khartoum shouting Islamic and national slogans. It had been organised by the Ikhwan as a show of power, after having been temporarily overshadowed by the heated debate over the division of power between themselves and the other forces.

The second major force retains this attribute by virtue of the political and security priorities of any government that might assume authority in Sudan. Colonel John Garang de Maboir, the SPLM chairman and Colonel-in-Chief of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA)

has already capitalised on the ensuing circumstances and threatened to end the ceasefire which he had earlier agreed, unless the ruling Military Council hands over power to civilians in an unreasonably short seven-day period ending on April 16.

Garang had been approached by almost all the parties before the toppling of the last regime. He seems, however, most influenced by the Unionists (UDP) but is himself a communist and has his own objectives, possibly even to the exclusion of some of his political allies in the Anyanya II rebellion, such as Joseph Adoho and others.

One of Garang's main problems is his very questionable representation of southerners, the majority of whom do not approve of his policies, while some had their villages looted and robbed by the rebels in an unsuccessful attempt to force them out into the armed opposition.

Now that the duration of the transitional civilian government is settled, there remains the determination of when the Military Council will step down for the civilians. General Swaredahab had already mentioned six months at a very early stage, but that has now been overtaken by other developments. The military took over because of "the political deterioration" of the country. They are not likely to give up power unless the situation improves. Security and order, however, should be the only justification for their remaining. It is now left for the political forces to meet the challenge.

Progress in this direction doesn't seem particularly likely. After a compromise which gave the 15-man Military Council supreme power, in return for allowing the actual running of the country to a civilian cabinet, the political parties were slow to agree on its composition. The cabinet will have 15 members, five for the parties, five for the trade unions, a police general for the Interior, an army general for defence, plus three southerners, but intensive bargaining and squabbling has delayed an agreement for more than a week.

### Shariah Law Firmly in Place

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English May 85 p 15

#### [Text]

THE future of Islamisation is one of the main questions posed by the very fluid situation in Khartoum. Observers note that the Shariah law was not a particular target of the anti-government demonstrators who toppled Numeiri: they were directed against Numeiri and his corrupt and inefficient regime. "We are hungry" the demonstrators shouted, "We will not be ruled by the IMF" as they smashed, indiscriminately, shops and hotel windows, overturned and burnt cars, tyres and piles of rubbish. After the coup thousands stormed the notorious Kobar prison, not a symbol of Shariah law, as many western press reports stated, but a long-standing symbol of oppression.

Nevertheless, the coup has encouraged anti-Shariah politicians and trade unionists who were unable to defy Shariah openly to call for immediate abolition of "Numeiri's laws," as they term Shariah. The southerners openly called for Shariah to be abrogated, while others were more cautious.

Three days after the coup (April 6), the new government relieved Fuad al-Amin, the chief-justice, of his post. Amin was a firm judge who backed wholeheartedly the Shariah introduction and stood as a symbol of it. Snatching the opportunity, a group of liberal judges petitioned the new government to draft a new constitution and review the "hastily passed laws," a clear reference to the Shariah. On April 6 Sadiq al-Mahdi, the Ansar leader, called for the removal of "distortions" ascribed to Shariah.

On the other hand, it was not clear at first whether the new military rulers will continue the course of Islamisation. But after a massive demonstration organised by the Ikhwan in Khartoum (April 10) calling for the upholding of Shariah the military council announced that "the laws of the previous regime will remain in force." That was the first and clearest statement made for the

Shariah. Commenting on this, the Sudanese ambassador in Saudi Arabia, Issa Mustafa, told *Ukaz* daily newspaper (April 10) that the new government will uphold the Shariah and that the new leader, General Swaredahab, is a true sincere Muslim. News agencies have reported that contacts with the Islamists are underway and that General Swaredahab has already met Dr Hassan al-Turabi, the Muslim Brotherhood leader who was detained by Numeiri last March.

The new government, however, is declaring, insistently, that it will hand over power to the people "in the proper democratic way without favouring any party." There is nothing of course, other than elections, that can be described as "the proper democratic way" for transferring power to people. An election is welcomed by the Islamists. It will most probably bring an Islamic coalition to power and thus resume, perhaps in a better way, the course of Islamisation.

The communists, unlike other parties, are opposing Islam ideologically and in whatever shape it might be introduced. When the American vice-president, George Bush, visited Sudan in February they handed him a memorandum in the name "Academics and Professionals" asking him to condemn the violation of human rights and drew his attention to the government's wrath (referring to Shariah) that fell upon the "poorest and defenceless members of society without any regard for human dignity."

Other political parties, by and large, have no clear cut ideology and are incredibly impotent and divided. Their leaders have long ago abandoned politics for business. Before they oppose or support Shariah they badly need to be re-organised and re-introduced not only to real issues of politics but also to the new electorate who comprise university students and school leavers,

a sizeable majority who were, 16 years ago, below voting age. It is the realisation of this fact that made the three allied parties, Ummah, Unionist and Communist, plead for a transitional period of three years during which they may build up themselves.

One thing is clear: the overwhelming majority of the people of Sudan are for some form of Shariah law. Ikhwan has now formed a "National Islamic Front," of all groups supportive of Islamisation. This is likely to be the largest group in any elected parliament. The second largest party is likely to be Sadiq al-Mahdi's faction of Ansar. This means that the two major forces in Sudanese politics will be supportive of at least some measure of Islamisation. The rest of the vote will be shared between the 29 or so political parties which have mushroomed since the coup. They are very much divided on the issue of Islamisation, ranging from

the uncompromising southerners and communists, to the equivocal Democratic Unionists.

For the time being, the military rulers have affirmed their commitment to Islamic law, although they said that some "excessive" practices under Numeiri will be avoided.

A report by *The Financial Times* of London suggesting that the removal of the head of the Central Bank is a move against Islamisation and Islamic banking is ridiculously misinformed. Mr al-Maqboul was one of the opponents of Islamisation and Islamic banking, and had advocated measures that many believe crippled Faisal Islamic Bank (FIBS). No Sudanese government is likely to go back on Islamic banking.

The newspaper was also grossly mistaken about the role of Islamic banking in the economy. FIBS is the major hard currency earner and it grew up in competition with traditional banks (not in their absence), outdoing them all.

### Scholar Discusses Islamic Education

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English May 85 p 88

[Interview with Dr Yousuf al-'Alim by Ahmad Kamal El-Din]

[Text]

#### What are the objectives of the faculty of the Quran?

This faculty was established in 1981-82 as a complementary stage of the Quranic educational system, which begins with the Khalwa traditional Quranic schools and continues with the Quranic Institutes at Alti, Nyala, Sharwani and Mangil. Its objective is to prepare competent graduates who have mastered Quranic studies and recitation, Arabic language and Islamic knowledge. There is also an extramural department for unregistered students interested in religious studies.

Two groups of students have already graduated. In the first group, 43 of the total 76 students were women, and in the second the total soared to 340 students which included 120 women graduates. We are looking forward to

creating a special department for the graduates of the faculties of natural sciences in order to equip them with the necessary Islamic knowledge appropriate for their various specialisations. It is planned that the courses will continue for two years in this department and a diploma will be awarded at the end.

The faculty has also introduced a new scheme for teaching the Quran: by dividing the verses into units according to the subject matter, together with the explanation and proper rules of recitation. This method is applied in Khartoum University Mosque. There were 2,500 applicants from both sexes. How does the faculty of the Quran of Omdurman Islamic University (OIU) fit into the educational system in Sudan, and does it have a distinctive contribution?

The OIU has stemmed from the religious education system in Sudan, particularly with regard to Arabic and Islamic studies. The first regular Islamic Studies Institute emerged in 1912, following a popular reaction to colonial attempts to stamp out this discipline. Comprising intermediate, high secondary and college levels, the old institute graduated the first group of students in 1924. After the October Revolution (October 21, 1964), the state showed more interest in Islamic studies and the institute gave birth to an Islamic university, the OIU, in 1964.

In the university, the religious studies curriculum became more comprehensive in keeping with the nature of Islam as a religion and way of life. General faculties were established for men students and a separate one for women. The departments included: Law and Sharia; Theology; Arabic; Economics; Political Sciences; Business Administration and Accountancy; Librarianship; Media Studies; History and Civilisation; English and French. **How does the new college reflect on the growth of Khalwas, and how does it relate to them?**

The Khalwa is a place where boys and girls are taught Quran by a sheikh. The tradition goes as far back as Islam's arrival in Sudan. Its major aim was to establish the Quran as the main source of Islam. The Khalwas, however, were the only form of schooling in those days and all the children started their education by studying Quran in the Khalwa, together with Arabic language and other religious studies at a later stage.

Modern schools then came into existence. The colonialists did not find it in their interests to maintain the Khalwa system, and the Quranic schools were greatly neglected. Naturally, the new schools appealed more to the material ambitions of the children and their parents, thereby drawing most pupils towards the modern system.

Nonetheless the Khalwa, or as some would prefer to call it "the Quranic firelight," continued to illuminate towns

and villages as preschool education, or even as an alternative education for those could not afford to go to the regular schools. Among the famous Khalwas in the country today are the Umm Daw-wan Ban, Wad al-Salih and many others throughout the countryside, especially in Darfur, Gezira and the northern parts of Nile province.

An increasing enthusiasm for Khalwas resulted in the 1960s in an intermediate level of Quranic institutes being established in Alti and Managil (central Sudan) and Nyala (western Sudan). This made the practice appeal more to modern expectations. An increased number of informal Quranic "circles" arose.

Then there were calls for the establishment of an entire college for Quranic studies. Consequently, the faculty of the Quran was opened in 1981/82, as part of the OIU, in order to train qualified teachers of the Quran who would specialise in the various styles of proper recitation as well as in general Islamic studies.

**What is the position of religious education in the government-run schools?**

Religious education has greatly declined since the late 1960s. The former curricula were replaced with less Islamic, more secular, material in accordance with the measures adopted by the former minister of education, Dr Sabir. Teachers of Arabic and Islamic studies began to leave. Some retired, others resigned and the rest went abroad. Great instability in the teaching of these subjects ensued. All this was reflected in the standards of the students enrolled in the early 1970s.

**What developments in Islamic education do you expect after the implementation of Sharia in Sudan?**

Islamisation in Sudan has already started to affect all walks of life: the economic institutions and processes, the judiciary and legislature, and other general social aspects. It is now expected that the whole educational curriculum will be so revised as to cope with the change.

SUDAN

TMC SAID TO BE OVERWHELMED BY POLITICAL, ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 22 May 85 pp 3-8

[Text]

The transitional 15-man military council (TMC) under Gen. **Abdel Rahman Sowar el Dahab** appears at least temporarily overwhelmed by the political and economic complexities facing it. Unless it is prepared to give real decision-making power to the civilian cabinet, at the same time as creating a climate conducive to negotiations with war-torn southern Sudan, there is little prospect of ending the civil war or of holding national elections.

Most crucial is the need to end the civil war by negotiation. To achieve this there are probably three prerequisites:-

- A formal revoking of the September 1983 "Sharia" laws decreed by former president **Jaffar Nimeiri**.
- A reduction in the TMC's power in favour of the cabinet under prime minister **Dr. Gizouli Dafallah**.
- The appointment of southerners, both military and civilian, to key posts in the transitional High Executive Council (HEC) which is to govern the south.

If the above were undertaken, the *Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army* (SPLA) under Col. **John Garang** would probably be prepared to negotiate. (The SPLA's daily radio broadcasts are not a reliable barometer of the SPLA leadership's actual views.) A constitutional committee would then have a proper mandate to discuss and propose a new dispensation - probably a federal system<sup>2</sup>.

Failure to resolve the civil war will result in economic catastrophe, particularly in the south. Elections, which could not be held in the north alone, would have to be postponed indefinitely. And the TMC, bereft of domestic support, would be undermined. Sudan is already perilously close to a political and economic disintegration that risks making the country ungovernable.

After a decade of bad government under Nimeiri there is an inevitable lack of institutions and administrative talent in the country. A lot of capable people left the country and have yet to return. The TMC's members (AC Vol. 26 No 9), without exception, have little or no political experience. They are well out of their depth. It is therefore not surprising that the TMC is trying to establish a conventional military structure to maintain security, and to assure itself in an unfamiliar world. Following the disbanding of the State Security Organisation (SSO), Military Intelligence (MI) has inevitably become a key security and policy-making

body at the highest level. MI director Brig. **Faris Abdulla Hosni** is a member of the TMC, and his predecessor at MI, Brig. **El Sir**, is playing a leading role in reorganising the security apparatus. Gen. **Taj el Din Abdulla Fadul**, the TMC's number two, was seconded from the army to the SSO a few years ago, where he was deputy to SSO director and first vice-president **Omer El Tayeb**. (Indeed, many senior SSO positions were filled by army officers, so that the line between MI and SSO was usually blurred). As part of the restructuring of the security apparatus dozens of SSO officers are being brought back into MI and what will probably be called the National Security Organisation.

The TMC's approach to the south is no less unoriginal. By co-opting into the cabinet the three Southern Sudan Peoples' Association (SSPA)' members (**Samuel Aru Bol**, **Peter Gatkuoth** and **Oliver Batali Albino**) the TMC believes the means for a dialogue with the south has been established. In practice the above three southerners, whose long political careers are well-documented, have little credibility among southerners. The SSPA set itself up with the aim of uniting the south, yet the result has been the reverse. The TMC too readily succumbed to SSPA persuasion. Life in the south has changed imperceptibly since the coup. From a southern perspective it is astonishing that even the September Sharia laws have not been officially repealed. The announcement last week of a state of emergency in the south is no cure.

Because of its indecisiveness the TMC is now on the defensive against the professional alliance in Khartoum, the south and the west (Kordofan and Darfur). Until a constitutional conference is arranged, opposition to the TMC, in all shapes and sizes, is bound to grow. The more special interest groups and parties there are, the harder it will be to hammer out a workable political framework for the future. Anarchy is just around the corner. Hence the necessity of stopping the civil war.

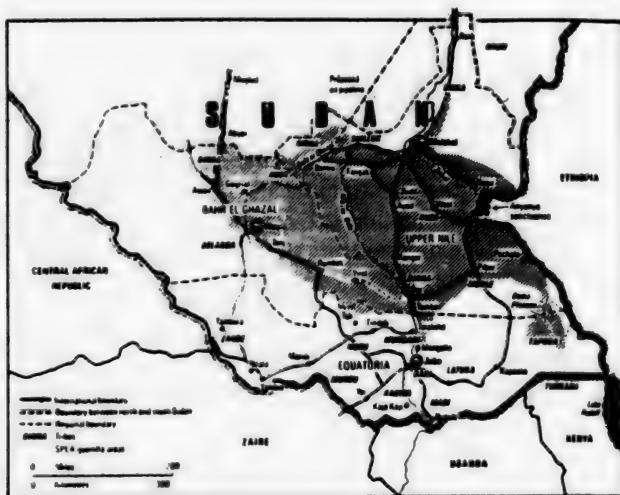
## The south: a forbidding shadow

So far the only policy initiative on the south was the announcement last month that it would in due course revert to one main administrative region, as it was before Nimeiri's June 1983 "redivision" decree. Meanwhile the present three southern regions (Equatoria, Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile) are under the transitional rule of three military governors<sup>4</sup>, who are also members of an all-military five-man transitional HEC under the southern regional army commander Maj-Gen. **James Loro**, whose assistant on the HEC is to be Brig. (ret'd) **Andrew Makur**.

Abrogation of the redivision decree offered an opportunity for the TMC to show goodwill to the south. But the chance was largely lost: northern officers, Maj-Gen. **Babiker Zaroug** and Maj-Gen. **Abdel Salaam Ahmed Salih**, were given the governorships of Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile respectively. Southerners gained the impression that the north was merely rearranging the system, maintaining, against the odds, the perceived strategic alliance between the north and the Equatorians.

There are now moves afoot to replace the two northern governors of Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile by SSPA nominees Brig. **Albino Akol** and Brig. **Peter Mobil** respectively, who are both Dinka. And the HEC, which is yet to take office in Juba, might well be expanded to around a dozen mostly civilian members. But the potential impact of such "concessions" by the north is rapidly being submerged by scepticism throughout the south of the north's intentions. Anti-north-cum-Arab sentiment<sup>5</sup> in many parts of Equatoria is now stronger than before the coup. And as economic conditions in the south worsen against a continued background of insecurity and war, the greater the potential for inter-tribal fighting – a vicious circle which the army could not begin to control.

However, the TMC appears to believe the initiative must now be taken by Garang, and that if he fails to do so, the army will have no option but to pursue a war of attrition. To this end the TMC clearly believes the SPLA can be squeezed materially and diplomatically if Khartoum can consolidate relations with **Libya** and sign some sort of bilateral agreement with **Ethiopia** covering disengagement of the latter's assistance to the SPLA. At present there is little likelihood of such an agreement with Ethiopia, partly because Sudan could never fulfill an agreement to seal the Sudanese-Ethiopian border to prevent foreign assistance reaching the anti-Ethiopian government guerrilla movements (notably the *Tigray Peoples' Liberation Front*, the Eritrean groups and the *Oromo Liberation Front*)



The impetus behind the TMC's somewhat stubborn attitude to the south is probably the conception of the south as a tribally fragmented region which has tried and failed to administer itself satisfactorily. Equatorian demands in the early 1980s for a measure of self-government for Equatoria provided Nimeiri with his main justification for redivision in June 1983. The SPLA's very limited recruitment of Equatorians has confirmed to many northerners that the rift between the Nilotes (the cattle tribes notably of the Nuer, Shilluk and numerically dominant Dinka) and the Equatorians is unbridgeable, and that hence the Dinka-dominated SPLA can be eventually subdued.

Intra-southern rivalry is indisputable. But it is unquestionably overshadowed by dislike of the "Arab" north. Though diplomatic incompetence of the SPLA-SPLM has indeed alienated most Equatorians, the majority of them are in favour of resisting the north, if necessary by force of arms. A northern policy which assumes the Equatorians can reliably be played off against the SPLA is misguided.

Ostensibly the SPLA is indeed unpopular in Equatoria. On 18 April, for instance, the *Equatorian Alliance of Trade Unions* held a march through Juba carrying anti-SPLA banners proclaiming "We will not be ruled by the murderers and rapists". The *Equatorian Graduates Association* endorsed the view, describing southern reunification as "aimed at appeasing a group of disgruntled and self-seeking politicians, as well as outlaws who have butchered, raped and looted the peace-loving peoples of Equatoria".

### The SPLA's southern push

The above furore against the SPLA was a direct result of the latter's disastrous forays into eastern Equatoria early this year and in March. The first major incident was an SPLA attack on the town of Terakeke (see map). Scores of Mundari tribesmen were killed and large numbers of cattle were rustled. A second SPLA-led attack was mounted on Terakeke in February.

Strategically much more important was the southwards push in January of an SPLA battalion on the east bank of the Nile. Having defeated an army force at La Fon, north of Torit, the battalion crossed the Juba-Torit road and headed for Owiny-ki-bul valley, a former *Anyanya* camp in the previous civil war.

If the SPLA had managed to secure a reasonable amount of local Equatorian support, thus enabling it to establish an operational base in southern Equatoria, it could have begun a pincer movement on Juba. But it failed to acquire support, for reasons pointed out, ironically, by the SPLA's potentially most valuable Equatorian allies, the Latuka tribe of the Torit area.

The great majority of Latuka dislike intensely the Arab north. The now all but nominal chairman of the SPLM political and foreign affairs committee, **Joseph Oduho**, hails from Torit, and the SPLA almost took it for granted that large numbers of Latuka could be persuaded to join it once SPLA units were able to get within easy reach of the region. Thus, by January, when word reached Torit that an SPLA battalion was approaching, several hundred young Latuka men decided to join the guerrillas. One group of about 300 set off northwards, aiming to join the SPLA near Bor before making the long journey to the SPLA training camps on the Ethiopian border. Many perished from dehydration before reaching Bor. The survivors then met the SPLA battalion coming southwards, and were immediately detailed by the SPLA commander to act as porters for the battalion.

By this stage SPLA discipline had deteriorated markedly: local women were raped and villages looted. Government forces benefitted immediately from the SPLA's misdemeanours. The regional director of military intelligence, Col. **El Sir Mohammed El Nur**, organised radio broadcasts by dismayed Equatorian youths who had briefly joined the SPLA. Tales of SPLA rape, torture, particularly by the Dinka, were magnified. A large government force, commanded by a veteran of the 1960s *Anyanya*, routed the SPLA at Owiny-ki-bul. The remaining guerrillas scattered, some

arriving later at Kitgum in Uganda, where they were disarmed. (A few appear to have made their way to a refugee camp outside Nairobi). Only a smaller number managed to regroup - some near Torit, others reportedly in the Lolibai mountains. Militarily and diplomatically the SPLA's most vital strategic plan ended in disaster.

The SPLA's presence in eastern Equatoria is now confined to the Boma plateau, where the SPLA established itself on 1 April after taking the small town of Boma and the airstrip there. Subsequently guerrillas have raided south into Taposa's cattle areas, rustling cattle and engaging Taposa tribesmen in small-scale fights. Government forces have made token and unsuccessful attempts to restrict the SPLA to the plateau.

Tactically the SPLA's attacks on the Bari-speaking Mundari tribe - first at Terakeke, then on Mongalla in mid-March and subsequently on the peripheries of Mundari territory - are equally counter-productive to any strategy of gaining Equatorian support. Historically the Bor Dinka have engaged with the Mundari in cattle rustling - a fairly low-key game which is prevalent among all cattle-owning people in southern Sudan and beyond. In 1969 the stakes were raised when the Mundari attacked with unprecedented vigour the Bor Dinka, who at the time were fighting the Bari people to the south. The Mundari, a transhumantic tribe which gained its knowledge of cultivation from the Bari, were thus seen as supporting the Bari.

The present conflict, in which the Dinka are regarded as almost synonymous with the SPLA, has turned into what is on the way to becoming a serious, unending battle in which both sides, for the first time, are heavily armed with automatic weapons. About 60,000 Mundari, their villages and cattle under constant threat, have moved close to Juba with their cattle. The army has given them weapons and ammunition to add to the AK-47s bought from the Uganda border areas at the exchange rate of three cattle for a weapon. With the prospect of huge numbers of cattle dying from disease, especially rinderpest (see box), the Mundari are intent on waging war against the Dinka, partly as reprisal but mainly to regain cattle. Two weeks ago about 15 Dinka on the east side of Juba bridge were killed by Mundari.

Bearing the above in mind, the SPLA's room for manouevre in Equatoria is greatly restricted. The key points are:

- The southernmost SPLA forces are hemmed in. The Boma force is restricted from moving south to Kapoeta by the Taposa, whose headmen have apparently agreed to counter further SPLA incursions. And SPLA units operating roughly on the Bor, Yirol, Rumbek axis are countered across their southern flank by the irate Mundari.

• A few thousand Equatorians have certainly joined the SPLA. The largest recruitment areas appear to have been Kajo-Kaji, the centre of the small Kuku tribe, from where the Dinka commander of the government garrison, Maj. Martin Manyiel, defected with a number of colleagues in early March, and Torit, which locals say has provided up to 1,500 recruits. At least several dozen Acholi, Moru and Lokura (Nilotic tribes) men have also joined. Until early this year an underground recruiting network, run by a Kuku who subsequently joined the SPLA in Ethiopia, operated in Juba. But following the SPLA offensive in Equatoria, recruitment has fallen off. Many young Equatorians, particularly secondary school leavers, joined partly because of the rapidly deteriorating southern economy and the lack of jobs.

• For some time there has been talk in eastern Equatoria of forming an Equatorian armed front so that Equatorians could participate in fighting the north without being dominated by the Dinka. With anti-government feeling in the crucial Torit area now running higher than ever, tentative steps towards starting a new front appear to have been taken. Though the Equatorians and the SPLA ultimately have similar objectives, a new front would exclude the SPLA from Equatoria - a division which hampered the previous southern civil war.

From the government point of view a new front in eastern Equatoria would presage almost certain military defeat for the government. The army is poorly paid, badly disciplined, critically short of essential equipment, inadequately trained and incapable of effective combat. The rains have started and within a few weeks all but a handful of troops are expected to be withdrawn from the outlying areas of eastern Equatoria to Torit.

Troops manning the check-points on the Juba-Kapoeta road are habitually drunk. Juba bridge, arguably the single most strategic target in Equatoria, could be captured or destroyed by half a dozen well-trained commandos. Army 'morale', already low, would crumble in the face of highly motivated guerrillas, especially since the bulk of government troops are westerners, whose loyalty ultimately cannot be relied upon. The southern command, too, would be under pressure: both Maj-Gen. Loro and the Equatorian commander, Maj-Gen. Peter Cirillo (who does not always see eye to eye with Loro), are from the Bari tribal group, which with the Latuka could form the core of an Equatorian guerrilla front.

Whether or not guerrilla activity increases in Equatoria, a military solution to the south remains unattainable. The great danger now is that much of the south, subjected as it is to insecurity, partial famine and economic collapse, will be drawn into internecine strife. The Mundari-Dinka battle is an ominous portent. Within the Dinka diaspora, the SPLA's most important constituency, traditional divisions could easily spill into armed conflict, above all if cattle disease spreads unchecked, undermining the Nilotics entire socio-economic edifice. (Already most of the previous decade's development work in the south is written off. Education and health care are particularly serious casualties. Big projects like the Jonglei canal have a bleak future).

In the short-term little can be done by the government or the aid agencies to provide cattle vaccination, seed grains and food anywhere within the vast tract of the south where the SPLA moves freely. The Rumbek and Yirol areas appear to be close to famine because of the combination of drought and insecurity. Rumbek was last reached by road on 9 April when a 30-truck military convoy arrived there from Tonj. The hinterland is inaccessible. The town of Yirol was almost completely destroyed by the army in late January after the SPLA had distributed arms to the locals.

Wau, the administrative centre of Bahr el Ghazal, remains accessible by road from Juba (via Tombura) and by rail from the north. Malakal in Upper Nile is more isolated: the road to Kosti is subject to SPLA attack; and ferry links south and north on the Nile, and eastwards on the river Sobat, are cut following repeated attacks. (The army has apparently dispatched two battalions of paratroops in the slim hope of sweeping clear the east bank of the Nile downstream of Malakal). Aircraft provide the only practical means of transport. Some of the villages in the area, such as Tonga (50 miles to the west of Malakal), are almost deserted. Their inhabitants have moved east to escape starvation.

The south is by no means the only serious regional problem facing the TMC. The west, where drought and famine is striking hardest, has traditionally played an important, if lower-key national role. Usually it is relied on to produce a food surplus; it has been the main constituency for the Ansar movement and hence the numerical backbone for the *Umma Party* (UP); and it provides at least 60% of the army's troops.

Yet the west has been under-represented in successive governments. The fall of Gen. Abboud's military government in 1964 saw the start of organised political activity in the region. The *Darfur Development Front* (DDF) was established by Ahmed Ibrahim Direj, and the *General Union of Nuba* (GUN)<sup>1</sup> took the lead in organising Kordofan. As a result the west gained far more local representation in the national assembly. But still Khartoum failed to include westerners at the top of government - only one Darfuri and one Kordofani has ever been a minister.

There are now strong indications that an umbrella organisation will shortly be formed to bring together Kordofan, Darfur and the east, which is represented by the *Beja Congress*. Tentatively the new umbrella is to be called the *Sudanese National Association*. The Nuba, a fiercely independent, autocratic African (as opposed to Arab) tribe based in the Nuba moun-

tains of south Kordofan, undoubtedly pose something of an impediment to Kordofani politics. GUN until now has unilaterally imposed its will on the rest of Kordofan. It is uncertain whether non-Nuba intellectuals will be prepared to allow GUN to retain its pre-eminence within a new regional alliance.

One important effect of political organisation in the west is the rapid undercutting of support for the *Umma Party* there. In the 1968 elections Direj and the DDF sided with Sadiq el Mahdi's liberal wing of the UP in preference to Umma conservatives led by Sadiq's uncle, Hadi el Mahdi, seriously splitting the UP. Local reports now suggest clearly that the UP would lose many of its former western supporters. For this reason Sadiq might try to make an alliance with the west.

The Nuba already have links with the SPLA, though Col. Yacoub Ismail, a Nuba who defected with a group of soldiers to the SPLA in late 1983, never found co-existence easy with the SPLA high command. The Nuba-SPLA relationship could expand in line with growing dissatisfaction with the transitional government. There is still a strong Nuba infantry group in the army. Militarily, other ties between the SPLA and the west are unlikely: historical animosity across the Bahr el Arab river between southerners and westerners is too great. There are now frequent clashes between economically-hard-pressed Dinka, Nuba, Kabbabish, Baggara and Fertit tribesmen all along the north-south divide. But there is scope for political cooperation among southern and western intellectuals.

Two weeks ago Direj and former foreign minister Mansour Khalid' (both London-based) met with Garang and the SPLA leadership in Addis Ababa. One of the main topics of discussion was the format for Sudan's future constitution. The DDF is now putting together a document proposing in detail a federal system. Further meetings are expected, and in due course might include the SNA umbrella, the SPLA and northern representatives.

Khartoum naturally remains the hub of political activity. Despite the unprecedented mushrooming of new parties and union groups since the coup, the two main traditional parties - the *Democratic Unionist Party* (DUP) under Osman Mirghani and the UP under Sadiq remain firmly in the forefront. The professionals and trade unionists who orchestrated the downfall of Nimeiri's regime are becoming less of an organised force. There is considerable debate whether they should form a political party, or merely act as an informal watch-dog. The minister of health, Dr. Hussein Abu Salem, is in the process of forming

"The Professional Alliance" as a party, though it does not appear to have the formal backing of the professionals. The *Communist Party* (CP) and the *Muslim Brotherhood* wing under Hassan al-Turabi are active, not least in countering each other, but stand no chance, in any circumstances, of winning a significant number of votes.

The Brotherhood, a wealthy, well-organised and fanatical group, achieves a prominence far in excess of its relevance or support. As a business machine it is extraordinarily successful. Its original financial backer and expansionist vehicle, the Saudi-owned *Faisal Islamic Bank*, is estimated to have made net profits of LS400m during the past few years. So much financial muscle did the Brotherhood have at its disposal that last year it cornered the national millet and sesame markets. Cumulatively its members' business interests yield a vast income, largely unearned. Among its leading supporters are **Mohammed Yusuf Mohammed**, a wealthy, doctrinaire lawyer, and **Osman Khaled**, an enormously wealthy businessman who among other things is the local agent for the *Lister Company*.

Hassan al-Turabi is widely reviled, and is at all times in some personal danger. He gives the impression of being increasingly strained. That he appears to have frequent audiences with Sower al-Dahab is yet another indication of the Generals' weakness. The Brotherhood is the only party or group to have proclaimed publicly that the September 1983 Sharia laws should not be scrapped, merely revised. The new attorney-general<sup>10</sup>, **Omer Abdel Aati Omer**, has now himself said as much. Yet Sudan cannot afford to indulge now in divisive religious debate, especially while over a million Sudanese are threatened with death by starvation. Khartoum is too often in a different world.

Extreme vacillation in the face of Islamic issues is perhaps the most contentious and dangerous aspect of the TMC's inadequacies. It is argued that no devout Muslim, such as Sowar el-Dahab or prime minister Gizouli, can be seen to abolish the September laws. Apart from the huge amount of ill-feeling their continued presence (and partial application) has generated, there is no real scholarly or practical reason why the laws could not be abolished – with the caveat that "true" Islamic laws would be discussed and perhaps implemented later, at a more temperate time. Sadiq, who said that the laws were not worth the paper they were written on, is the only Muslim leader to have clearly stated his position.

At this stage there is little merit in a detailed

account of the myriad political parties and groups in the north. Elections are a long way ahead. Before that, and of much greater importance for the future, will have to come a constitutional conference. That in turn must be preceded by a negotiated end to the civil war. The alternative is a social breakdown from which Sudan would not recover until well into the next century.

#### Footnotes

1. He remains under house arrest in Cairo. He is expected to be given asylum in another country, possibly Morocco. His wife is presently staying at his house near Windsor in England.
2. The most widely canvassed proposal is for five states - north, west, south, east and great Khartoum.
3. The SSPA's main constituent groups are the former southern parties - the *Sudan African National Union*, the *Southern Sudanese Liberation Movement* and the *Southern Socialists*. Its leadership is Samuel Aru Bol (chairman), Peter Gatkuoth (deputy-chairman), Lawrence Lual Lual (secretary-general). Policy-making is divided between seven committees: Oliver Batali Albino (economics), Aru Bol (political and legal affairs), Hilary Lugalite (external and public relations), Dr. Toby Maduet (information and culture), Esiyah Kulang (organisation), Gatkuoth (finances and services), and Lual Lual (administration).
4. Regional ministries are now in the charge of director-generals - in most cases the former permanent under-secretaries before the coup. They report to regional secretary-generals, whose main function is to liaise between the military and civilian administrations.
5. It is particularly evident among former members of the administration, professional people and the church. The Catholic Bishops' Conference recently sent a letter to the TMC demanding the formal abolition of Sharia law, a number of personnel changes in the ministry of religious affairs so that non-Muslims would be better represented, and repeal of the 1962 Missional Act (which banned foreign missionaries).
6. The Taposa, an exceptionally apolitical tribe which seeks merely to preserve its own order, has been badly hit by drought. The neighbouring Turkana nomads of Kenya, with whom the Taposa have for centuries indulged in two-way cattle rustling, have taken advantage of the Taposa's weak state by raiding exceptionally large numbers of cattle. The rains have started, but many Taposa will starve for several more months.
7. It is noticeable how few officers renew their first commissions (three years for infantry, six years for the rest). Hence there is an alarmingly high turnover among lower officer ranks.
8. Not to be confused with the Nubians of northern Sudan. Of African stock, the Nubians are led politically by the former foreign minister *Jamat Mohammed Ahmed*. Among their ranks is the present foreign minister, *Ibrahim Taha Ayoub*. Efforts are being made to revive traditional Nubian culture, especially by the Dongolawi group of Nubians. They could play a significant role in bridging north-south divides.
9. He is expected to return to Khartoum within the next few months.
10. In AC Vol 26 No 9 we mistakenly wrote that *Abu Shakir* had been appointed minister of justice. Last-minute disagreements prevented his appointment.

SUDAN

## ISLAMIC MOVEMENT'S LINKS WITH FORMER REGIME ASSESSED

East Burham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English May 85 p 10

[Article by Fathi Osman]

[Text]

Since Numeiri announced the enforcement of Islamic law, the Islamic movement in Sudan — known as the Muslim Brotherhood, in spite of the ideological and organisational differences between them and the movement in Egypt from which the Sudanese one developed — had moved closer to his regime until the celebration of the first anniversary of the "Islamic Orientation" in September 1984.

As the Sudanese Islamists proved their wide universal relations with prominent Islamic leaders in the fields of thought and movement, and their deep roots among the heterogeneous Sudanese people, Numeiri made veiled criticisms in foreign interviews of the Sudanese Islamic movement even before the anniversary.

This hostile attitude increased with time and exploded after the huge public rally of more than a million people which was mobilised and organised by the Sudanese Islamists. Numeiri attacked them openly in the central committee of the Socialist Union meeting held a few days after the anniversary celebration. In spite of their remarkable selflessness and constructive loyalty, Numeiri dismissed all Ikhwan from prominent positions in the government, Peoples Assembly and the Socialist Union and detained hundreds, including the Islamic leader Dr Hasan al-Turabi.

This was another bitter experience for the Islamic movements of allying themselves or moving too closely to autocratic regimes, whatever the intentions and motives may be. I believe that the Islamists in Sudan and elsewhere have never thought of gaining material benefits for themselves or their organisations and have always been dedicated to their Islamic goals.

They might imagine that working for dawa under a strong government and being relieved of antagonistic parties and their tactics provides a suitable climate for their constructive activities; they might find themselves inclined to avoid the exhausting challenges of fighting an election without the complicated tactics of rival political forces. Therefore, they prefer to accept the bargain of an autocratic ruler by giving him their support and taking in return a cautiously planned political role, which they have to play with a full observation of the conditions and rules of the game.

Any governmental approach towards Sharia fuels the Islamists' enthusiasm, however it may seem. They think that they can accelerate the Islamisation process by their presence in the regime, which — on its side — cannot tolerate any increase of the Islamists' power beyond the supposed marginal role. They might imagine also that despotic authorities would be impressed by their

morality and their dedication to the public service.

Islamists in their wishful thinking may ignore the basic contradictions which separate them from an autocratic ruler. They preach that there is no unconditional obedience except for God and that the human dignity of the individual and the people is a Divine gift which should be maintained and developed by the authorities; among the essential manifestations of that human dignity is public participation in policies and decision-making, which is known as *shura*, as well as other manifestations represented by economic development and social justice. Such basic teachings of Islam cannot be tolerated by a despot, principally when the preaching goes beyond generalisation and theorisation to more specific criticism of certain practice and when they practise activities.

I know that Dr Turabi was the only person who faced Numeiri to tell him that Islamist principles do not support a plan for extending Numeiri's presidency for the whole of his life, and thus he was forced to withdraw it. But this fact was not known by the public and Turabi was counted as a supporter of the regime as long as he held the title of "President's Assistant for Foreign Affairs" which had no practical content at all. Later, the Islamists were there with the Sudanese students in their gatherings at the universities and with the Sudanese people in the streets.

However, until the contradictions reached their peak, the Islamists in Sudan — as happened elsewhere — had to spend from what they had gained of the public confidence in their support of a dictatorship. Soon, the dictator turned against them mercilessly and solved "the dilemma" of the Islamists and the regime in his own way, while the people were confused and puzzled by both the cooperation and the conflict. Ikhwan in Sudan should push strongly towards economic reforms and social justice, when the authorities were just inflicting the penalties of Sharia without maintaining the economic essentials.

Dr Turabi was seen in the anniversary celebrations often urging the leading Islamists to emphasise in

their session or in their personal meetings with Numeiri the necessity of an urgent economic rescue plan, since he could not assess the real catastrophe of the situation. A regime which assumes an Islamic orientation for the state cannot for a moment ignore a massive famine, whether it is caused by physical or human causes, and an Islamic movement cannot for a moment support such a ruler who restricts the comprehensive Divine guidance as represented in Islam to the penal law.

Such bitter experiences have been suffered by the Islamists in several cases. We hope that Islamic movements everywhere get the message: "Do they, then, realise that they are being tested every year once or twice?" [IX:126].

However, the victorious struggle and the sacrifices of the whole Sudanese people, including the Islamists, in fighting the authoritarian ruler represent a genuine pride and a significant guidance for the whole Muslim umma. Caliph Umar once said: "I admire the oppressed one who says strongly to his oppressor: No!" Numeiri wished to show his American allies his miraculous power in a critical moment so as to convince them of his reliability in a strategically sensitive area. The Americans pushed him in a risky test, urging him to apply unpopular political and economic measures so that they might enforce their policies or lose a weak card before a serious gamble.

The show has now ended in an overwhelming victory of the Sudanese people and irresistible evidence of the genuine and vigorous power of the people. The people proved their significant maturity when they expressed their strong wish for an end to the military regime as a whole and a complete return to the civil rule, not being content with a change of military faces. They have suggested a transitional cabinet representing the different political attitudes and the various unions in order to carry out the necessary procedure for an urgent and free election of the president and the legislature.

Congratulations now, and further congratulations when the Sudanese people restore all their rights and liberties and establish comprehensive Islamic justice soon, "insh'a Allah."

TUNISIA

MTI LEADER COMMENTS ON WIDE VARIETY OF SUBJECTS

Tunis HAQA'IQ in Arabic 12, 19, 26 Apr 85

[Three-part interview with 'Abdelfattah Mourou, leader of Islamic Tendency Movement, by Hisham al-Qarwi: Comprehensive Interview with 'Abdelfattah Mourou"; in Tunis, date not specified]

[12 April 85 pp 13-16]

[Text] Interesting and singular was my interview with Shaykh Abdelfattah Mourou, lawyer and a prominent leader of the Islamic Tendency Movement [MTI]. When I entered his office on the second floor of an old building on "Commission" Street and shook his hand, I sensed his spontaneity emanates from great self-confidence. I did not bring with me prepared questions; I only wrote down some notes on the subjects I wanted to cover with him. Hence, this interview was relatively comprehensive and almost spontaneous. I say "almost" because politics does not lend itself to full and pure spontaneity. I admit that as much as I was unrestrained in my questions and sometimes posed the same question in different ways, Shaykh Mourou was just as candid with me and always ready to answer. If only all those with whom we deal in our journalistic work were as "open" as Mr Mourou, the fundamentalist Muslim who was supposed to be a fanatic and close-minded. I am not "throwing roses" at Shaykh Abdelfattah. No. However, our job as an independent press requires us to seek the truth and as much objectivity as possible. Therefore, our intention is not so much to embarrass those with whom we talk as to get off the trodden paths to give our respected reader--this reader who has long been deemed simple-minded by the mass media in the Arab world--another view about journalism. But, ultimately, it is for you to judge, and we hope we have succeeded, if even a little, in presenting a most universal picture of Mr Abdelfattah Mourou and the Islamic Tendency [Movement] in Tunis.

[Question] Mr Abdelfattah, first of all, I notice this "confusion" in your personal situation. What I mean is that you combine two things which, at first sight, seem contradictory. You are a lawyer who studied positive law, of course, and, at the same, are one of the MTI leaders, a fundamentalist calling for a return to the Islamic Shari'ah. How can positive law and Islamic law meet, if I may ask?

[Answer] Students of positive law are more qualified than others to know

the reasons for the state of loss in which society finds itself regarding the various aspects of life. They can diagnose the illness and put their finger on the remedy. One reason for the backwardness of Islamic Arab society is that the robe it wanted to don does not suit its capabilities, civilization and directions. Therefore, our role as students of law is to know the points of weakness and deficiency and receive inspiration from the Islamic Shari'ah in solving the problems of society. Consequently, I find myself comfortable being a lawyer, defending liberties and man's personality and integrity. I believe this noble role undertaken by lawyers is perfectly compatible with the Islamic Shari'ah, which sanctifies in a practicable fashion God's exaltation of man.

[Question] Fine! Let us imagine that the Islamic Shari'ah will be applied in Tunis some day. We will not then need lawyers and positive law specialists as much as judges well-versed in religious codes and Shari'ah experts. Do you concede this?

[Answer] This concept is not true because if we applied the Islamic Shari'ah, we would always need a lawyer to guide those citizens who are not familiar with the Islamic Shari'ah's provisions and to explain to them their rights and duties so that, should a citizen appear before the courts, he would be familiar with the methods and measures that uphold rights.

(Here, Shaykh Mourou went on to elaborate on the role of the lawyer in our present-day society. So, I said: I have not asked about the lawyer's role.)

[Answer] I say we will need lawyers in an Islamic society. It is true that the judge in an Islamic society is the one who arbitrates between two sides in religious conflicts or between society on one hand and the right of the individual in penal proceedings on the other hand. But the judge cannot arrive at the truth by himself, he needs the lawyer's help.

[Question] I see you talking as though we do not live in an Islamic society.

[Answer] This is a simplification. I told you that an Islamic society is one that applies the Islamic Shari'ah.

[Question] Only? Do you mean a society such as Sudan, for instance?

[Answer] Who said Sudan applies the Islamic Shari'ah? Numayri says so, but we need an investigation to verify that. Furthermore, what is the Islamic Shari'ah? Is it represented in amputating a thief's hand or stoning an adulterer, or is it a more important and more universal thing? Many people limit their understanding of the Islamic Shari'ah to the application of a number of divine statutes related to stoning and amputation.

This does not sound right to me.

[Question] It is being said that deep at the heart of MTI are conflicts concerning a number of issues such as women's liberation and the personal statute code. It is also said that you personally are more "liberal" than

your colleagues in the MTI. Is it true? Perhaps [this is] due to your being a lawyer who also studied positive law?

[Answer] By God, this question should first be directed to those who evaluate me within MTI. On what basis was their evaluation of my person and my stances founded? Secondly, I do not like these "labels" attached to people as being liberals or narrow-minded.

[Question] Very well, let us be more specific. What is your position, for example, on the personal statute code?

[Answer] I repeat here what I said before, that the personal statute code has turned into a sword drawn against men and women alike because some consider it a perfect work immune to faults or errors. Any person who draws attention to the discussion of the personal statute code is suspect in his patriotism and progressiveness and is considered as one who ran away from a museum. What I advocate is removing the attribute of sacredness from the personal statute code, the attribute that impedes our evaluating it positively or negatively. I take off from a practical and practicable premise and believe that our society is suffering from a serious break-up of the family. Before you came to this office today, I received five divorce cases. Perhaps I specialize in divorce cases, I don't know. But I think that this phenomenon, divorce and tragedies experienced by families, concerns every citizen.

[Question] Let us imagine, for instance, that one of your sons chose one day to be a Marxist. Will you forbid him from doing that?

[Answer] He is free. Neither I nor anyone else on earth can control the will of the individual or his direction or ideology.

[Question] Will you not try to persuade him of your view?

[Answer] My role as a father dictates that I give him the basic facts that help him make a good choice. I will not feed him the facts through a "funnel" and force him to follow them. This is a wrong way to raise children. I believe my role as a father who chose one way in life is limited to presenting the various facts and leaving the choice to him. He will be happy with that.

[Question] Suppose one day you become a senior political official. What ministry will you choose to finance its budget more than others?

[Answer] The ministry I consider the country's main artery is the Ministry of Education, which takes care of more than one million individuals.

[Question] Suppose you become minister of education?

[Answer] I am afraid I might "be bit by the call" from now [laughter].

[Question] What would you concentrate on: science, religion or morals?

[Answer] The efforts of the Ministry of Education should be based on the basic facts that are essential for raising children and shaping their personalities as Muslim Arab Tunisian citizens living in the 20th century. The programs I would focus on are those that emphasize this meaning.

[Question] Are you prepared, to get to the cabinet, to participate in the elections?

[Answer] Are you speaking of a certain reality or hypothetically?

[Question] I am speaking of a reality.

[Answer] I do not imagine that the present reality attaches great value to elections in the same degree as it values appointments and designations. Elections are not a free choice, but a choice of direction which can only be achieved if the citizens are enlightened enough to know whom to choose. Is this the case now or not? And, can unopposed candidacies to municipal councils and parliaments be called elections? If a list includes 100 candidates for 100 seats, I do not understand how we can ask the people to choose 100 out of 100. If by elections you mean appointments and unopposed nominations, I am not ready for either one.

[Question] I mean the municipal elections.

[Answer] The municipal elections come at a time of political uncertainty and fear of retrogression after achieving a number of gains and witnessing the gradual emergence of a number of informational forums. Today, we see that the election results are announced beforehand, something that may be achieved through two ways: either by "device" or by appointment. Now, all the opposition newspapers are shut down. We are about to have elections at a time when the opposition party newspapers are absent from the arena: AL-WAHDAH (albeit for personal reasons), AL-TARIQ AL-JADID and AL-MUSTAQBAL. Where is the climate that will prepare the people to make a choice?

[Question] Is this the MTI position on the upcoming elections?

[Answer] We have not defined our position on them yet. These are personal thoughts as all the Tunisian people know. We fear a setback and a delay in carrying out the program for which we strive. As for MTI's stand, we will announce it soon, God willing.

[Question] What about the "liaison" committee?

[Answer] The liaison committee has not yet been formed. As for contacts with other opposition movements, this is something we have tirelessly pursued for years. For us to participate in a liaison committee is a great idea which we greatly value. However, it is still in the preparatory stage.

[Question] Some opposition parties rejected it.

[Answer] Basically, we do not reject it as we have no basic objection to all

forms of dialogue with any political side. It is a matter of practicality which gives the opposition a political weight in the country so that it does not appear fragmented as some regime circles wish it to be.

[Question] The Tunisian Human Rights League recently held its second conference in which the matter of Mr. Serge Adda's (a Jew) election was brought up. What is your position on this issue?

[Answer] We have no problem with Serge Adda or any other Tunisian citizen who respects this country's independence, personality and individuality. As a Tunisian, he deserves the same kind of respect we have for every citizen in our country. Those who believe that the Islamists show enmity toward all those who differ from them in race, religion or opinion are wrong. This kind of thing is not an issue with us. The issue now is with our own Tunisian people who have not yet acknowledged our right to choose the course, the method and the path we want to follow. We are persecuted as an Islamic tendency.

Every movement is justified in its existence in the political arena except the MTI. It is very much feared and there is a desire to paralyze it. We are not advocates of hatred, but rather of peace and fraternity. We are Tunisians above all, Tunisians, who have embraced their own concept and understanding of Islam as a course for change in the country. Let their concepts and directions be debated, but to "veto" them and reject their existence as a political movement is unreasonable. I say this in connection with our discussion of Serge Adda because we will never adopt a racist position.

[Question] Two political sides have leveled charges against you. The first one says that the MTI is a "radical" movement, in addition to being one that accuses our entire society of infidelity. On the other hand, the other side (which is Islamic like you), namely the Liberation Party, says that you are liberals and are in collusion with the regime. How do you answer these two charges?

[Answer] We do not wish to engage in political gossip, but I hasten to add that our tendency is now working in the open and our stands toward the regime are clear and public and so are its stands toward us. The same thing is true of the opposition. Anyone who wants to raise accusations against us is referred to our declared positions and the positions of others toward us. Our literature does not include any position that acts in concert with the regime.

[Question] Of course, it cannot be found! Those who collude with a political side do not, by necessity, announce that.

[Answer] Then how do you define collusion?

[Question] It can be secret.

[Answer] Very well! But it has a practical result.

[Question] The result may be your ability to operate in freedom now while the members of the Liberation Party are in prison.

[Answer] What freedom? Perhaps they are in a better position than we are because they are in a declared prison while we are in an undeclared one. When we were in prison, the press used to call for our release so that we may operate freely in the political arena. Are we now operating freely in this arena? Our staying point used to be the mosque where we taught the Koran and the Prophetic tradition. Today, we do not even have "a hole in the wall" in any mosque from north to south and east to west. We used to have newspapers (AL-MA'RIFAH, AL-MUJTAMA') and now we do not have the pleasure of one quarter of an annual paper. We do not even have a cultural club.

Four hundred of our young men are still denied work and have been fired from their public jobs because they joined or were accused of joining the MTI. We have young men who are detained at the Interior Ministry. When we left prison, we were accused of collusion with the regime as though the natural place for a political fighter is the prison.

[19 Apr 85 pp 12-14]

[Text] (We continue to publish in this issue the interview with Shaykh Abdelfattah Mourou. In view of the interview's length and importance, and out of our desire to inform the reader of all the issues he touched on, we chose not to abridge or condense it but to publish it in three segments because the space set aside in the magazine for the Arabic section is too small for the whole interview. Therefore, the last part will be published in our next issue.)

[Question] Let us go back to the [Islamic] Liberation Party and specifically its thesis on the Islamic Caliphate. Do you imagine that it is possible in this day and age to bring back the Caliphal rule?

[Answer] I greatly appreciate the Liberation Party people and believe that they are fighting for a cause and are being persecuted because of their ideas and ideology, regardless of whether I agree or disagree with them. I refrain from commenting positively or negatively on the thesis they are putting forth for no other reason than my respect for them while they are suffering in prison.

[Question] Fine! I will not ask about the Liberation Party, but the issue of the Islamic Caliphate has been raised ever since the twenties of this century. We all remember 'Ali 'Abd-al-Raziq's book, "Islam and the Principles of Rule," which caused an uproar at the time. Can the Islamic Caliphate be brought back?

[Answer] Those who called for the return of the Caliphate seem to have taken off from the premise that the Islamic nation at one time lived under one central leadership, the nation was not divided. Even in the ages of decline, the Islamic people owed allegiance to one leader and one central

authority and the caliph was a spiritual as well as a political leader. I do not imagine that those who call for the return of the Caliphate advocate a specific form because Islam does not set forth any specific form of rule. It prescribed general rules that must be respected, including the Islamic nation being a nation of unity and unification desiring to rally under one central authority. This tendency, while present in the West today in various forms, is very old with regard to the Muslims.

[Question] What is your conception of participation in authority today?

[Answer] Today, we are demanding participation in enlightening public opinion concerning a number of issues. As a national group, we want to present our view to the people so that they may judge us. We are now the victims of a judgment by default because they judge our opinions by our silence, not by what we say. We want to be judged by what we say and we want the opportunity to question and be questioned.

[Question] In other words, you are now on the side of the democratic process in the western liberal fashion?

[Answer] We are on the side of the process that stresses the acceptance of views and counter-views, whether you like to call it "democracy," "shuri [consultation]," "opening up," or "civilizational tendency."

[Question] Let us imagine that you arrived at power and began applying the Islamic Shari'ah in Tunis. Would you allow the other forces to oppose you?

[Answer] We are not aware that our goal is to apply the Islamic Shari'ah. Our goal is to guide the people through Islamic theses.

[Question] And this is what evokes criticism against you. You are the religion that was supposed to bring you closer to God, not to this world.

[Answer] What is the difference between religion and this world? The verses on statutes in the Koran are more than any others related to ideology.

[Question] But these verses deal with things that happened in previous centuries. The world has changed.

[Answer] We believe that the Koran is applicable in this century by the same general rules that were set down in those centuries. These rules took consideration and concentrated on human stability and gave us the chance to interpret changing issues according to time and place.

[Question] How can the MTI help advance a backward society such as ours? Do we need secular or do we need transcendental values?

[Answer] The MTI does not seek the supernatural. Islam covers a large part of life and how to deal with it logically and reasonably.

[Question] What I mean is that the MTI is built on a metaphysical backdrop.

[Answer] The MTI is not a path to Sufism. It is a political tendency based only on reality. When we debate with people, we do not tell them, "First, God exists," and then talk about the political program.

[Question] O.K. Where is your secularism then?

[Answer] Take it easy so that I can tell you first what the political tendency is. People do not understand that the MTI deals in political programs by which it is judged. It does not urge people to join any specific intellectual, ideological or doctrinal system. No. It urges people to join a socio-economic program in which those who believe in Islam as a doctrine and those who do not may participate.

[Question] Therefore, it can be said to you, "change your name." Why do you call yourself an "Islamic Tendency"? By saying this, you mean that others are not Muslims.

[Answer] No, this is wrong. When you say you belong to the democratic party, does that mean that others are non-democratic? When you say you belong to the socialist party, are the others non-socialist? The name is a false issue which some people used to nullify our presence as a movement. The fact is that the name is not an issue. I personally believe that it can be changed, but an argument over a name must not deny the subject.

[Question] Those who argue with you say that religion is ultimately a personal issue, not a political issue that concerns society.

[Answer] I do not advocate a religion but a program.

[Question] But you turned religion into a political issue.

[Answer] I did not talk about religious tendency, but an Islamic tendency because Islam is a religion and a way of life. How else was this religion able to build a state, conquer, be conquered, fight and make treaties?

[Question] Do not go far. Iran is an example. What do you think?

[Answer] The Iranian example represents a certain understanding of Islam. The principles being applied in Iran are a form of understanding of Islam.

[Question] Do you approve of this form?

[Answer] If I did, I would be advocating what Imam al-Khomeyni is calling for in Iran and I would believe in the return of the absent imam and that the imam is infallible. But I do not believe this.

[Question] Is the rumor that you receive help from Iran true?

[Answer] How can they help us when they are in a situation of "shake one leg and the other will perspire"? For 5 years now, they have been in a war. Shells are falling on them like rain. People hurl insults. Those who did

not revile spit and those who did not spit applauded those who did. So how can they help us? What can they send us? Spare parts which they do not have? Bread? Some riyals? It is true that there is solidarity among Muslims all over the world and there is concern with Muslim causes in the east and the west. We do not deny this. That is why we are just as concerned with the Afghani cause as we are with the Iranian cause and the cause of Muslims in Bulgaria.

[Question] Does this solidarity not mean support?

[Answer] Perceptibly, no. We have not received any material support from any side: not from Iran and not from the [Persian] Gulf countries.

[Question] What is your position on the Iran-Iraq war?

[Answer] From what point of view? From the political and ideological point of view? First of all, what is the Iraq-Iran war?

[Question] I wish you would define it for me.

[Answer] They are two neighbors who, by virtue of geographic necessity and certain political circumstances as well as world tendencies, entered into conflict. The victim in truth are the Muslims. Therefore, we consider any action that sheds Muslim blood or consumes the capabilities of Muslims and distracts them from building and construction as an act of conspiracy against the Islamic nation and we are against conspiracy.

[Question] Do you not think that the Iraq-Iran war is actually a war between two different views of the world and politics, or between a regime that wants to export the Islamic revolution and another regime or, perhaps, regimes?

[Answer] Do you mean a secular regime that excludes Islam in solving everyday problems? This kind of regime does not exist but it has been employed politically to serve world interests.

[Question] Logically, you are supposed to back Iran because it is an "Islamic state."

[Answer] No, we do not side with Iran as we do not side with Iraq. We are on the side of right, which is, in our opinion, to back the oppressed people. We do not defend regimes.

[Question] But you defend Islam?

[Answer] We do not defend Islam. We defend ourselves. Islam does not need anyone to defend it.

[Question] Do you not embrace Islamic causes?

[Answer] We embrace them in our society, but we do not export them to people abroad.

[26 Apr 85 pp 20-22]

[Text] (This is the third and last part of the long and comprehensive interview with Mr Abdelfattah Mourou. We hope it has shed some light on the issue of the MTI in Tunis as a political current with its own theses concerning issues in Tunis and the Arab world.

[Question] Do you support the Afghani revolution?

[Answer] We support all the oppressed people of the world, including the blacks in South Africa who are oppressed by the apartheid regime. We support them on an equal basis.

[Question] Then why do you not support the Muslims in Iran?

[Answer] The issue does not concern the Muslims in Iran. It concerns two regimes fighting to spread their influence. We do not side with regimes.

[Question] You say it is purely an issue of regimes. Is it not also an ideological issue?

[Answer] It is an issue of regimes, but the people are being drawn into it to serve the regime via ideology, for instance.

[Question] The Iranian regime recently tried to occupy Iraqi land to establish a state fashioned exactly after its own system. Do you insist that it is not an ideological war?

[Answer] No, it is a war to serve a certain political influence.

[Question] O.K. You mean a war to export the Islamic revolution?

[Answer] Perhaps.

[Question] Are you against or for the Islamic revolution?

[Answer] We do not believe in exporting thought and do not believe that revolution can be exported. We believe it emanates from the soul of the people. I believe that the best service we can offer Islam is to make people long for the model instead of exporting it to them.

[Question] But Islam exported itself.

[Answer] Islam got involved only in the battles of the oppressed people inasmuch as Persia and the Byzantines started the wars. With the exception of that, Islam offered a model.

[Question] What about the conquests, were they not exports?

[Answer] No, the conquests were a smack of the hand of the tyrannical oppressor who prevented us from calling the people to a thought.

[Question] Is this not what Iran is doing in its point of view?

[Answer] Iran wants to impose a certain understanding of Islam. It has no right to feel that the only understanding of Islam is the one it embraces or imposes on people.

[Question] It sounds as though Islam is multifarious, as though there is more than one Islam.

[Answer] The understanding of Islam is multifarious. What does the regime in Tunis say now? It says that it is the one who is defending Islam: the Eucharistic Conference, the naturalization issue, the building of mosques, the Koran recitation at the opening and closing of TV programs, the "Sulamiyah" in the morning and the "'Asidah" [thick sweet paste] on the Prophet's birghday. This is a specific understanding of Islam. I have a different understanding of it. I do not think that Islam is "'Asidah," I think it is a way of life.

[Question] What then is the Islamic state as you understand it?

[Answer] It is a state under which people can agree on a certain understanding of Islam as I see it, which is to change the evil reality, to aid the oppressed, the weak the toiling and the poor people. In addition, it is peace, security and stability in society and resistance to evil.

[Question] This is what every Islamic Arab power is saying these days.

[Answer] Our problem is that we talk about and fight over non-existent things. Those who are now talking about Islam, do they have a practical form which can be judged? And those who oppose Islam, saying that it is inapplicable.

[Question] They are building mosques.

[Answer] This is not Islam. Is it enough to build hospitals in order to kill disease, or to build jails to kill crime?

[Question] What about the Koran, which is taught in schools?

[Answer] God bless them. This is very good and not strange in Muslim Tunisian society. But is is not enough because the Koran is being taught in a twisted way. What is taught in high school about Islam? Ablution! Sexual intercourse! And what is sexual intercourse? It is copulation and orgasm. Men learn that when they are 16 years old. A girl of the same age learns that ablution is menstruation! How do you expect them to understand Islam when it is brought down to the toilet level!?

[Question] But it is one aspect of Islam.

[Answer] Look at what is taught in Islamic philosophy. They start with Plotinus' theory of Neoplatonism and go on to al-Farabi, al-Kindi, Ibn Rashid and al-Ghazali. Can you find these days the thoughts of the contemporary

Islamic thinkers on a number of issues? Can you find Muhammad Iqbal, al-Mawdudi, Sayyid al-Qutb, Muhammad al-Ghazali or Arkun? We conceive that Islam is a bygone historical era. This is wrong. What they are doing in Islamic societies is trying to fit old molds to modern society, but these molds do not fit. Islam requires us to interact with reality, but the problem of the Muslims is that they are out of touch with reality. We are not living our reality. We have one of two things: either a person not being himself and thinking that he is a "Paul" living in Paris and, therefore, imagines that what is good for Paul in Paris is good for him or a person who reacts to the former and severs all ties with reality because he feels that there is nothing in this reality to justify interaction with it. We are now demanding this difficult equation between the components of the individual personality and the dissimilar reality. I think Islam, in its purity, can preserve my individuality in a way that allows one to deal with reality while preserving my identity. You asked a while ago whether Islam could help advance a backward country such as ours. This is the problem. We have a model for progress before our eyes and when we say we are progressing, it means that we are progressing toward this model. When we transfer this model to our country, we do not achieve the desired goal.

[Question] This is not what I meant by my question. What I mean is should the alteration of reality be concerned with the religious, moral or other aspects, the urgent economic problems, for instance?

[Answer] We in the MTI believe that man in general needs a "new trushik." be it from the economic, social, educational or moral point of view.

[Question] You mean a kind of a cultural revolution?

[Answer] Yes, a cultural revolution to change man's direction. It is not possible to separate between the moral, economic or ideological aspects. Secondly, the change we advocate and seek for our society must find willing listeners among our people. We must make our people feel the importance of this change. When every individual is able to relate materially and emotionally to such a change, it can be realized. When you talk to the Muslim in a language he understands, the language of giving and of sacrifice for the sake of God, he will not need 20 policemen to watch him when he measures or weighs because you touch in him a basic meaning or a deeply-rooted value.

[Question] You talked about the West as a model. Do you reject this model?

[Answer] No, we do not reject it. Rather, we want to deal with it as peers; we do not ask that it be copied.

[Question] What I mean is, in your political practice in Tunis, you do not reject the model of liberal democracy in the western fashion.

[Answer] We wish the government would copy the western model faithfully. Should this happen, we would enjoy our basic freedoms and would express our opinion and our right to assembly and to participate positively in political life. The problem is that certain governmental sides claim that they have

copied the western political model when in fact they have distorted it. When it comes to basic rights and democracy, they say "No, the people have not matured yet. Do you want to compare Tunis to Europe, which has been living in democracy for 200 years?" It is true that Tunis is backward, therefore, it must start training in democracy now in order to gain 200 years of experience.

[Question] Let us suppose that the western democratic experience is copied faithfully in Tunis, what need would you then have to call for a return to the Islamic Shari'ah and the enforcement of the divine statutes?

[Answer] I told you we did not call for the enforcement of the divine statutes. The MTI, in its official statements, asks for permission to communicate to society its understanding of Islam. Our goal is not to enforce the divine statutes, it is to deal with Islam on a sound basis.

[Question] In your opinion, are you heading for a civilizational confrontation with the West or a dialogue with it?

[Answer] We are heading toward discovering ourselves. We cannot confront or have a dialogue with others unless we feel we have a personal attribute that distinguishes us from them. How can you confront others when you think you are they and they are you?

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BAHRAIN

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS IN SCHOOLS EXPOSED

Manamah SADA AL-USBU' in Arabic 30 Apr, 7 May 85

[30 Apr 85 pp 8-10]

[Text] Whoever has been following the readers' letters published in local newspapers since the beginning of the school year will have noticed many complaints to the education minister from male and female students about the ministry's curricula and the educational inferiority of some teachers, or else about the administration's disregard for the wrongs inflicted upon the students, which ministry officials are taking no decisive, serious steps to resolve.

Whoever reads these complaints will also have noticed that the minister is nicknamed "the kind father" or "the merciful father," the first such nickname the people have ever given the minister as far as I know--absolutely the greatest and most honorable nickname.

There is no doubt in my mind that the people would not have given the minister this nickname if he had not deserved it, as can be attested to by those who at one time or another have had the honor of working with him.

Dr Fakhru comes from an older generation which learned moral values in families ruled by religious precepts, in which religion was the foremost authority on child-rearing. He received his education as well as his degree as part of a generation inculcated with the principles of justice, truth and law--unlike the way degrees are granted in our wicked times, by means of money and intercession.

For this reason, his presence at the Education Ministry is an opportunity which will not be repeated to remedy the ministry's shortcomings.

I felt that for me to express an opinion and discuss curricula and the evaluation of teachers in Bahraini schools might provide some guidelines for whoever desires reform. I myself have no personal interest in it, and desire nothing but reform and to express my opinion. Someone with an opinion might be wrong, but might also be right.

In spite of the state's generous expenditures on education, the return from the educational process is poor and the results are deteriorating, as is proven by the students' desire to attend private schools. The examination committees recommend easy grading in order to improve test results for general diplomas, and some principals interfere in transfer examinations in order to raise the results. The minister's remarks during an interview 2 years ago with one of the local newspapers may explain the reasons for the declining results over the years.

In this article of mine, which I offer as a brief summary, I shall mention some of the factors preventing the educational process from achieving its hoped-for goals.

Since the educational process is based on teachers, students, curricula and grading, I shall explain to whoever is interested some of the negative features of these factors. I shall begin with the most important cornerstone of education, the teacher, by mentioning the problems which beset him and hamper his work.

Teaching in Bahraini schools is carried out by Bahraini citizens and foreign missions. The minister has ordered that unqualified Bahraini teachers become accredited, and I can testify that many of them are highly skilled at their jobs.

As for the foreign teachers, some of them have infiltrated the ministry by means of the infamous "designated loan" [al-i'arah al-musamah] system, which originates with a corrupt employee of the Egyptian Education Ministry and is abetted by personally interested, influential persons in some Gulf countries. Even though such loans violate truth and justice, I was prevented from writing about them 2 years ago because I didn't have the necessary proof to reveal the facts about these corrupt loans initiated by interested parties in order to get bribes.

The 6 November 1985 issue of the Cairo paper AL-AHRAM reported that the public prosecutor had arrested the director of the Badrshin Teaching Bureau redhanded in the act of receiving bribes of 1,500 Egyptian pounds each from teachers for loan positions under the so-called designated loan system. The director's victims included a primary mathematics teacher at the Dar al-Mu'allimat School at al-Haram and a teacher at the Manshiyah al-Kubra School, who together arranged his arrest in cooperation with the public prosecutor for financial crimes.

Issue No. 56 of the Cairo paper AL-WAFD published an article entitled "1,000 Pounds For a Loan at the Education Ministry," which began as follows: "Last week the People's Assembly sessions revealed the grave manipulation going on at the Education Ministry under the name of "designated loans," whereby teachers pay 1,000 pounds to those in charge of teacher loans. Thus, 1983 and 1984 graduates go abroad while their colleagues who graduated in 1969 and 1970 sit tight waiting for an opening!"

The article continued, "The deputies said that this figure has become a well-known going rate--1,000 pounds going to the travel agency and the ministry officials responsible for loans, after which the lucky new graduates go abroad as if they knew the secrets of existence, while their earlier-graduated, more experienced colleagues stay where they are!"

As a result of such loans, many persons with no teaching experience have snuck in. However, the loan officials have the power to do whatever they wish. Administrators from the ministry headquarters in Egypt, as well as persons who are not even teachers, have joined the teacher corps--like the man who had been working as a Suez Canal pilot and who, by virtue of a designated loan, became a counselor [muwajjih] in Bahrain. All this has been to the detriment of the students, as was inevitable.

Complaints have been published in the local press; in fact, students at one school complained to their principal about the weakness of one of the senior science teachers, who was on a "designated loan." Even though the teachers had known how weak this teacher was, her immunity because of the loan prevented any investigation. It is extremely unfortunate that when students complain--as they did in this case--no one listens to them or seriously investigates the complaint. When commenting on student complaints, the officials are satisfied with denying them, thereby showing their solicitude for holders of "designated loans."

The question is still awaiting an answer: why do loan officials at the Education Ministry permit such violations, even when they are clearly harmful, alien to truth and justice, and in violation of ministry regulations?

Meanwhile, a private school in Bahrain, advertising in AL-AHRAM in August 1984, insisted on teachers with masters degrees and at least 5 years experience!

This is just one of the shortcomings of teachers working in the field of education.

So much for the teacher--what about the school administration?

School administration has become part of the teaching program, with its own methodology for making the school successful. The school principal should adhere to precise standards and attend lectures to advance his career. Some principals' ignorance of the art of administration, combined with their absolute power, has led to supercilious, haughty behavior towards the teachers, contrary to the principles of education and democracy, thereby sowing hatred in the hearts of the teachers, the cornerstones of education. One principal even asked a teacher to shave his beard off because he didn't like it!

Some principals have become very partisan in administering their schools, singling out some teachers as their proteges, giving them incentives they don't deserve, overlooking their absences, and evaluating them higher than they deserve in their reports, for no other reason than that those teachers are good at hypocrisy and providing services.

The opposition party receives bad reports, is deprived of incentives, and is threatened with transfer or termination of their services.

Thus, in Bahrain's schools, the prevailing slogan, decreed by the principals and upheld by the teachers, is "obedience to the administration comes before educating the students"--just like the Fascist slogan "no devotion to the party before devotion to the homeland."

Therefore, some lucky proteges don't even have teaching schedules. They have devoted themselves to serving the principal, who divides their schedules among their vanquished colleagues, who know for sure that if they bring their ill-treatment to the attention of officials at the ministry, no one there will treat them fairly, because democracy is totally lacking and some principals are being exalted.

Some school principals spy on the teachers while they are conducting their lessons. I won't go into details as to the effect this conduct has on the minds of the young pupils, who come to learn the principles of morality, and whom the school is preparing to manage the people's affairs in the future. In fact, according to students, some principals do not welcome the poor students, but smile upon the rich ones, and even greet them at the school door!

Some principals (and I hope that the reader will not forget the word "some") show considerable moral character and fairness, while other men and women principals divert the teachers' efforts towards decorating classroom partitions and attendance record covers, and listen only to the hypocrites. As for values, subjects, test results and student education, these things come second. As you can see, the result is poor results and a total loss for the students.

Besides this, there is the so-called senior teacher [al-mudarris al-awwal], a position which was created by the Egyptian teachers' union to satisfy older teachers who were unable to pass examinations for promotion. They were given a half-schedule and put in an "advisory position" to help elementary teachers who needed to find out something they didn't know for a subject they were teaching. These senior teachers would also convey instructions from the school district pertaining to education plans.

The Arab countries and Egypt went along with this concept, and the senior teacher acquired seniority, which, however, did not entitle him to control or evaluate his colleague teachers. However, the Bahrain Education Ministry, for some unknown reason, gave this position material privileges and unlimited supervisory power, and, more importantly, placed it outside the scope of educational supervision. Because appointments or promotions for this position are not made on the basis of examinations or skill, but through intercession most of the time, some of these teachers were promoted even though they were not very knowledgeable. But who not involved in this issue knows anything about this?

The senior teacher on designated loan has become proverbial. Furthermore, some senior teachers on loan show no justice or sense of balance when evaluating the teachers, but play the hypocrite to the Bahraini teacher and oppress the loaned teacher, out of some inner weakness. For this reason, this position ought to be for Bahraini citizens only, once just conditions are laid down for whoever holds this position. Their responsibilities must be defined so that those sick souls who love power--a scientifically-proven disease--do not tyrannize their subordinates, who do not have immunity against this impending evil. Because the senior teacher is entitled to divide up the curriculum any way he wishes, some of them have taken to supervising and reporting on teachers outside their own specialties. How can that be?

Finally, we come to the supervisor, the third leg of the tripod, who keeps the teacher from sleeping and occasionally harasses him. No matter how unjust, the supervisors' reports cannot be reversed, because democracy is totally lacking. The teacher has no rights or veto power over the supervisor's report, no matter how unjust or excessive it may sometimes be.

As a group, supervisors are promoted to their positions on the basis of seniority, and, in Bahrain, through intercession or the "designated loan" of ill repute. They are a strange bunch not governed by laws or guidelines. Some have no educational qualifications above the license or baccalaureate level. Unfortunately, many of them rely on the absence of educational supervision. They do not develop their skills or follow the new research in the fields of education, sciences and mathematics, relying instead on whatever educational experience or qualifications they acquired long ago. Meanwhile, educational theories are developed, new publications and experiments are added, and innumerable new studies are written. The outcome is deficiency, inertia, and the lack of methodological homogeneity, such as in the following examples.

1. They differ in how they counsel the teacher. While one might recommend that a teacher apply a certain theory, another comes along and contradicts him by recommending another, which throws the teacher into bewilderment, confusion and doubt.
2. They never grasped the chapters dealing with behavioral mistakes or mental and physical abilities in works written about student development.
3. There are hundreds of mistakes in the various science and mathematics textbooks, and in their format and presentation these books violate teaching methods. While the supervisors have read these books every day, and the teachers have discussed them for years, they never discovered these mistakes until the students and tutors undertook to publish some of these mistakes in the newspapers, at which time the supervisors discovered them for the first time.
4. The intellectual weakness of some supervisors has led them to limit the topics covered at the occasional seminar or class held so that the teachers can discuss curriculum matters, and to not allow any deviation from these topics.

5. Some men and women supervisors use supervision and guidance as a means to assert their superiority over the teachers, thereby defeating the whole purpose, which must be based on seeking out errors through cooperation, love and democracy. This shifts the larger goal from supervision to a kind of inspection, that ugly term by which it was known in the past. The result is failure among the students and feelings of frustration among the teachers.

These are the problems and obstacles which surround the teachers and prevent them from giving their all to the students. The student body has become a field for experimenting with educational theories which are not yet well-enough established for us to judge them. However, one sure thing is that student levels have dropped considerably.

Another factor contributing to student failure is the inferior curricula assigned to the students. God willing, I hope to express my opinion and offer my views as to how to cure these problems in another article.

[7 May 85 pp 13-15]

[Text] In the article published in the last issue of SADA AL-USBU' I mentioned some of the obstacles keeping the ministry's education plan from achieving its desired goal of revitalizing science and education. In that article I mentioned some of the teachers here on designated loans, and the unjust treatment of teachers by some school principals, who tolerate hypocrites, give them free run of their offices, and award them incentives and reduced class schedules. I also mentioned the negative aspects of teacher supervision, the work of the primary teacher, and so forth.

I said then, and I will say again, that I do not intend to criticize everyone. I am speaking of only a few, and it hurts me that people do not read more carefully. I promised the readers that I would mention the remaining obstacles to educational revitalization by discussing the curricula and how to treat existing problems. When it first occurred to me to enter into this debate, I thought I would leave out any discussion of curricula, because I didn't know very much about that issue and had been unable to read up on it. Furthermore, a discussion of curricula would require several articles. I felt that it would be enough to quote some tutors' criticisms published in AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ, merely as an indication and not as a comprehensive treatment of the matter, so as to absolve myself from any charge of being biased. I also hope that the officials will take to heart what we have to say about what is being published in the Kuwaiti and Gulf press under the heading of education, for that is the best way of arriving at the truth.

One criticism, entitled "To the Curriculum Department" and written by a tutor named Muhammad 'Ali, read as follows: "We want a curriculum which is advanced in deed and not just in word." Short as it was, the critique was truthful and frank. After discussing the mathematics and religion curricula, he enumerated the reasons for the shortcomings and defects. I quote:

1. Those who draw up curricula are unacquainted with curriculum science; that is, they are not specialists in it. Neither do they know the stages of student development and growth, especially in the elementary stage. This is a fact with which the ministry has not yet dealt.

2. Consequently, curriculum specialists adopt ideas haphazardly from this or that book, never completing any one well enough to have contributed to the development of the curricula. This approach leads to a drop in the students' levels, since it is a fact that secondary school graduates are just barely literate. Another result is that the student, especially the elementary student, relies totally on memorization in order to pass examinations, after which all that knowledge evaporates because of the ineffectual way it was acquired.

3. The density of the curricula and the difficulty of its subject matter leads to confusion on the part of both teacher and student, and consequently generates frustration among most of the students.

The tutor goes on to cry out for help: "You officials in the Education Ministry and the Curriculum Department! We as tutors and citizens are concerned with the well-being of the country, which is totally dependent on the new generation to help advance the society. We propose the following measures.

1. The curricula must be appropriate to the students' different intellectual levels, and must bear in mind individual differences within a given class.

2. The curricula should cover things which concern the student, and should be drawn up in such a way as to help the student think, seek and discover, instead of dictating to him.

3. We hope that principals will become more competent; most principals, especially in elementary schools, have not even completed secondary school. They are half-teachers, and half-teachers are a threat to society because they claim to be knowledgeable. There is no true knowledge without higher academic studies.

The critical tutor offers seven sincere proposals for curriculum reform, but the ones I have mentioned are enough. He ends his critique by saying, "You officials in the Education Ministry and the Curriculum Department! We as tutors and citizens are concerned with the well-being of the nation" and so forth.

I have quoted this criticism published in AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ to support my views and to make it clear that I am not offending anyone. I am only demanding the truth from some people who find it difficult to give the truth, and whose souls find justice oppressive. If only the supervisors would follow the scientific journals which publish new research in physics and social sciences--journals published by the state of Kuwait like AL-THIQAFAH AL-'ALIMIYAH, which translates recent studies in education and modern sciences, one issue of which published an article on improving scientific education which would be useful in curriculum development, or SCIENCE AND SOCIETY, published by

UNESCO, they would be better-educated and more knowledgeable. But in the absence of supervision and follow-up, some supervisors become complacent and don't bother to keep on reading so as to improve their educational standing. As a result, the students, tutors and teachers are the ones who discover the mistakes, and tongues wag!

Curriculum reform will take years, and meanwhile generations of students will be lost. Therefore, I suggest that the ministry economize and follow the state policy of rationalizing expenditures, and that a policy of cultural, education and legislative integration be initiated among Gulf countries, whereby the Bahraini Education Ministry would decide curricula for the Kuwait Education Ministry, with slight modifications in some textbooks relating to the environment. The UAE is already doing this. Among the mail received by SADA AL-USBU' I came across a group of textbooks used in Kuwait and the UAE. I did not find the letter which had accompanied the books, which no doubt had been sent in to be reviewed. I mention this as a reminder to those who are tired of being criticized by officials, no matter how true the criticism. If only some teachers were allowed to write in occasionally to discuss how to treat the problem--but that is forbidden to the teachers. You people in the Curriculum Department should return to truth as the greatest virtue, and not get angry at the critics and curse them.

First of all, the Kuwaiti schoolbooks were general educational books attractively printed and illustrated, so that the reader might forget they are textbooks. The books I have are a third grade math book (first printing), a physics text (Part One, fourth printing) for the second year of secondary school, a geology text (fifth printing) for the second level of preparatory school, a new reader for the second level of secondary school, a biology text, and a history of the modern world. One drawback with the books from the UAE is their binding; since they were printed at a newspaper plant, the binding is poor and the pages fall out.

Those who work in the Curriculum Department should inspect these books in order to imitate them, for that would be easiest. I didn't have time to read the contents of the books, but the curriculum sections are skilled enough to be able to extract the best parts of the books.

#### Appraising and Treating the Problems

As I explained before, the tutors can see the declining student levels, regardless of the meager statistics submitted to officials. I have mentioned the contributory reasons and defects, which can be reduced to a drop in intellectual levels among some teachers and supervisors, as well as the favoritism which some principals show to some parties, which has reduced some teachers to frustration and apathy.

A school is a cooperative organization which must function democratically. Police-type inspection by supervisors must be transformed into assisting the teachers and overcoming the difficulties which stand in their way. Spying on teachers by principals must be transformed into helping the teachers and

solving their problems. The students must participate in school administration so as to prove the theory that the educated person is the pivot and starting point of the educational process. Furthermore, the principal must be honest and frank, impartial and unbiased, and must not exploit his position for any personal benefit. He must make an example of himself and not allow any hypocrites around him. Principals must work with teachers in formulating school policy and carrying out whatever is felt will ensure the success of the educational plan. He must establish a supervision system for the school so that he can follow up and supervise the teachers on the job.

Lack of democracy in a school leads to great injustice against the students and teachers, and hampers the implementation of the plan as the ministry would have it. Therefore, many of those with grievances have turned to the press to make their complaints directly to the minister, instead of directing them to ministry officials. Many of them are so gripped with fear that they do not give their names, so that they won't be punished by their principals, some of whom, in such cases, spend most of their time spying on the author of the complaint in order to get rid of him!

As an example, we can cite a ministry official's comment on a complaint published in AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ, a complaint which I have not read but which I understand pertained to deficiencies among some female teachers. Once the matter was submitted to ministry officials, the official said, We want to make it clear that all the lady teachers are highly skilled and have university qualifications and long experience. All those responsible for evaluating the teachers--principals and supervisors--can testify to the high level which characterizes these teachers." What worries us about the ministry's reply, and what has happened in the case of every complaint sent to the press, is that instead of having an investigator interview the students, who are on the spot and can evaluate the teachers far better than the officials can, no importance is attached to the rights of the students for whose sake the ministry exists, and the officials give this kind of reply which purely and simply makes every teacher the highest of the high. I don't see how this official could have allowed himself to make such a reply. If he wants to be just, why doesn't he get the students' opinions? This whole affair shows blatant disregard for the rights of the many.

I say to this official, "Shame on you for being so partial," for such logic says that the problem as a whole does not lie in the people. If we concede, for the sake of argument, that the official's statement is true, then why are so many students failing? Why does the ministry permit special remedial classes? Why are there private classes? As I said, the students are being scorned, but they are under no delusions, and are storing up these trifles in their souls. Defeated and subdued, they force pained smiles, and they will carry these memories for the rest of their lives. In the end, I am saying exactly what I said at first: Minister 'Ali Fakhru's presence at the ministry is a great opportunity for reform.

Therefore, if the honest people at the ministry (and there are many of them, as I said before, led by the minister himself) are willing, I suggest that reform be imposed by law, because those who love their influence will never

go along with what we say. The expression "so-and-so is removed" must no longer be used in the ministry. The Labor Administration has already condemned this expression, which was also condemned by the Egyptian courts. The reasons for firing must be stated in writing, so that we leave no room in the employee's mind for pain, distrust and defeat. Next, the personnel who can be dispensed with must be removed, and just guidelines must be drawn up for appointing supervisors, teachers, primary teachers, principals and general superintendents, especially since the ministry is in the process of Bahrainizing its staff. Then, in order to guarantee all of this, democracy and law must prevail over everyone in the ministry, beginning with the student and ending with the principals and foreign teachers, through the establishment of a blameless, law-abiding administration, the members of which will be selected from among citizens known for their good conduct and morality, and which will be subordinate to the Justice Ministry so as to guarantee its independent judgement.

It has been proven that the investigators from the legal department (who were selected by intercession, nepotism or designated loans) are subservient to some officials, follow their orders to falsify and reverse facts, are at the back and call of any ministry official, and have sold out their religion for worldly things and have become depraved. However, the only thing I am interested in is whether there will be reform or not. I wanted to express my opinion about the things I have sensed and read about. The people as well are writing to the country's press to tell the officials where the illness is located and where the mistakes are being made. I did not intend to accuse any particular person; if my words struck home to someone, that is no fault of mine, for the man put himself in that position.

He who enacts a good law will have his reward on Judgement Day. It is fitting that the minister be the one to pass the just law, to stand alongside the weak, and to act on behalf of the students and teachers who have no one to intercede for them. I am writing and publishing this article in order to remind the minister of the words of the poet: "I saw you, the famous free giver, so I rose up with throbbing desire and hope."

[7 May 85 p 14]

[Text] After the article on teachers appeared, many teachers and supervisors were angry and accused me of attacking and deprecating the ability of skilled teachers, and so on.

I would like to make it clear, although with regrets, because the matter requires no explanation, that I am not accusing all teachers, supervisors or all those here on entitled loans. Many of them have worked in Bahrain before and the ministry has observed their skills.

However, I am singling out some infiltrators who have neither skill nor seniority. The Egyptian opposition has discussed this matter with the Egyptian minister of education, and every teacher who loves justice and equality must reject this situation. As for the official teaching mission

in Bahrain or any other Arab country, it is staffed on the basis of precise appraisals, and has been doing its job for decades, as can be attested to by generations of educated people.

We in Bahrain appreciated the testimony Dr 'Ali Fakhru voiced in his farewell speech to those whose loans will expire next year.

I hope that the teachers will read this very carefully, because I am condemning only the designated loan system. The teachers will retain their rights and seniority when they come out under the new loan system, as the Egyptian education minister's statement confirmed. I unequivocally adhere to this concept. I would also like to make it clear that I let the magazine give any title it chose to my article, and this was the title it picked. I shall come back to this discussion some other time, God willing.

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CSO: 4404/365

BAHRAIN

NEW RADAR SYSTEM

Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English 28 Apr 85 p 1

[Text]

**A MULTI-MILLION** dinar sophisticated radar system is being introduced at Bahrain Airport.

And the move means that the airport will be able to enhance its already well-established reputation.

Work has started at the airport control room to pave the way for the Plessey Watchman system to be brought in.

When the system comes into operation in mid-July it will provide the airport with the most up to date radar coverage available in the world.

Peter Batchelor, Plessey's senior sales manager for land based systems overseas, said: "Many of the features included in the Plessey Watchman have

previously been available only on the most expensive military radars.

"Detecting aircraft in clear conditions is a relatively easy task but radar signals can also be returned from high ground, dust in the atmosphere and rain and these all provide unwanted "clutter" on the radar operator's screen.

"Watchman uses signals sent out on two different frequencies and with two different pulse lengths to help overcome these problems."

"With these new systems in service, Bahrain Airport will be set not only to maintain but also to enhance its already well-established reputation."

CSO: 4400/165

BAHRAIN

COMMITTEE ON BAHRAINIZATION

Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English 6 May 85 p 5

[Article by Soman Baby]

[Text]

A NATIONAL committee is to be set up to help the Government speed up its Bahrainisation programme.

The committee's formation has been approved by the Cabinet, and it will shortly assess the job demand involving national workers in Bahrain over the next five years.

**Training**

The Ministries of Labour, Development and Industry, Commerce, and Education as well as the Civil Service Bureau

and the Bahrain Monetary Agency, have been asked to nominate their representatives to the committee.

"The committee's prime task will be to study the number of Bahrainis who will be in the job market by the year 1,990," said a Labour Ministry spokesman.

The idea is to assist all qualified Bahrainis to find suitable openings in the country in both Government and private establishments.

The current training programme for Bahrainis will be reviewed, and, if necessary, new training courses aimed at improving the skills of national workers will be launched.

CSO: 4400/165

BAHRAIN

NEW PELLETIZATION PLANT FACES SHUTDOWN

Manama CULF DAILY NEWS in English 9-10 May 85 p 2

[Text]

OPENED in a blaze of publicity last December, Aisco was a show-piece project.

It was hailed then as a major plank in the strategy to diversify the sources of Bahrain's income and broaden the island's industrial base.

And its private Arab shareholders looked forward to a steady build-up over the next two years to full production of four million tonnes of pellets a year.

**Hopes**

Yet this week the BD 113-million plant shut down amid the latest of a series of controversies which has dogged it over its few months of operation.

Aisco has still not won any orders for its pellets.

And last night Kobe Steel, the Japanese main contractors on the plant, said the reason it had shut was that the only place to put the stocks now was in the sea.

The Aisco management have been hoping for firm

orders from Saudi Arabia, where the first, trial shipment of pellets was sent on opening day and Qatar since the first few weeks of operation.

Hopes were also high for orders from Pakistan, Malaysia, Indonesia, Europe, Libya and Egypt.

But with worldwide demand for pellets only 6 per cent of production, those orders simply haven't come through.

And over the last couple of months the strain has begun to show.

First there was the calling in of the performance bond—BD 8 million held in case of Kobe Steel's failure to complete work on the plant.

Aisco's then general manager, now advisor, Omar Grine, blamed Kobe Steel for the delay in signing contracts, saying the plant couldn't operate properly because it wasn't finished.

But, arguing that the plant had already been producing pellets when it was opened last December, Kobe Steel threatened legal action and a compromise was

reached.

Meanwhile, the first repayment on the plant's financing was delayed, for what Aisco's bankers called "technical reasons."

Omar Grine denied that calling the performance bond had been a way of delaying repayments on the loan.

**Debts**

Then, at the end of last month, Grine resigned, denying that it had anything to do with the row about the bond or the fact that Aisco still hadn't won any contracts.

The Aisco board accepted the resignation 'with regret', and vice-chairman Yaqoub Yousif Majid took over as managing director, with Grine as his advisor until June.

Now, as the plant is to shut down in what Omar Grine calls 'normal procedure', a question mark hangs over its future.

What is to become of the 800,000 square metre man-made island, the plant that was to employ 300 people, and repay its BD80 million debts?

BAHRAIN

STEEL COMPANY TO IMPORT ORE

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 29 May 85 p 13

[Text]

**MANAMA**—The Arab Iron and Steel Company's (Aisco) pelletising plant in Bahrain plans to import iron ore from Arab countries, particularly Mauritania.

This was stated here yesterday by the company's vice-chairman and managing director Yacoub Yusuf Majid. He said the import of ore from outside the Arab world was a temporary measure.

Mr Majid also released Aisco's annual report for 1984.

Talking about the performance of the company and the pelletising plant, he said, "We never expected success to come easily. We are breaking new ground in heavy industry for the Arab world. For this reason we have invested in the most modern equipment and operating techniques."

Joseph T. Rahai, Aisco's financial manager, announced that "new lines of credit have been negotiated to provide working capital as the plant moves into the operational stages and extended guarantee facilities have also been finalised."

A provision of \$7.5 million was authorised by the board of directors in recognition of the deteriorating carry-

ing value of investments remaining after the 1984 collection of \$5.3 million. The deteriorating investments, Aisco Chairman, Hussain Ibrahim Al Jasem, were mostly in form of shares and investments in land.

Financial highlights of the 1984 statements are an increase of six per cent in total assets provided by the progress of the project and the provision of working capital.

The increase was mainly funded by export credit facilities from the company's suppliers, Japan and Italy, and amounted to \$37.88 million. Total assets stand at \$353.564 as of December 1984.

Total current liabilities at December were \$40,269 compared to December 1983's \$23,406. Long-term debt rose to \$149,505 over 1983's \$139,210 while total shareholders equity decreased to \$163,790 from 1983's \$170,637.

Retained earnings also declined from 1983's \$19,304 to \$12,093 at December 1984.

The chairman of Aisco, Mr Jasem confirmed that the plant had negotiated firm orders for its product.

Production at the plant, which was officially opened in mid-December, has remained suspended since May 5, at which date, the stockpile of finished product had topped some 250,000

tonnes almost reaching total storage capacity of 300,000 tonnes.

The vessel, "Malvern" was due to arrive from Oman yesterday afternoon for loading of 65,000 tonnes of pellets sold to the West German steel firm of Kloeckner Werk A.G.

Further orders are anticipated from West German and Portuguese buyers for an approximate 185,000 tonnes, the chairman added.

Marketing activities are carried out through the Arab Steel Trading Company, incorporated as a fully owned subsidiary of Aisco with a capital of \$2 million.

The company is currently involved in marketing discussions with Hadeed of Saudi Arabia and a second "one-off" 20,000 tonne shipment will shortly be delivered to the Kingdom.

The only shipment to have left the Bahrain plant since it began test running in October 1984 was a 20,000 tonne "trial" shipment launched from the Aisco jetty as part of the opening day celebrations.

This second shipment, the Aisco Chairman said, "is both a commercial shipment and for testing, it is also of a higher quality than the initial shipment."

CSO: 4400/165

ISRAEL

BRIEFS

**SENIOR IDF APPOINTMENT**--Today Brigadier General Avihu Bin-Nun was appointed head of planning in the IDF General Staff, and Vice Major General Manahem 'Eynan was promoted to the rank of major general. This has been announced by the IDF spokesman. MajGen 'Eynan is going to the United States for further studies, after which a senior IDF post will await him. [Text] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1600 GMT 6 Jun 85 TA]

**NEW RELIGIOUS PAPER**--A new religious paper YATED NE'EMAN [FAITHFUL FOUNDATION], the acronym for Torah interpretation, will be published within the next few days. The initiative for the paper's publication comes from Rabbi Shakh, who has been unhappy with what has recently been happening in the HAMODI'A editorial board, which is no longer subservient to his rule and is too inclined toward the Gur Hassidic group. [Excerpt] [Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 4 Jun 85 p 3 TA]

**CRM PUBLISHES NEW MONTHLY**--A new monthly journal will be published in Israel by the Citizens Rights Movement [CRM]. The journal will be named POLITICS and its editors will be 'Idit (Sartari) and Yosi Sarid. The editors say the journal will be open to anyone with talent, regardless of their political affiliation, but its political orientation will be dovish and radical. The first issue will be mainly devoted to the 3d anniversary of the war in Lebanon. [Text] [Jerusalem Television Service in Hebrew 1800 GMT 3 Jun 85 TA]

**DECREASE IN UNEMPLOYMENT REGISTERED**--A decrease of 9 percent in unemployment was registered at the end of the first quarter of 1985, in comparison to the last quarter of 1984. At the end of March, there were 85,000 unemployed in Israel. From data released today by the Central Bureau of Statistics, it transpires that the percentage of unemployed among Israel's labor force has decreased from 6.4 percent to 5.8 percent. [Text] [Jerusalem Television Service in Hebrew 1800 GMT 3 Jun 85 TA]

DISAPPOINTING TRADE BALANCE--Israel's balance of trade did not improve in the first 5 months of the year, so that at the end of last month it was only one-fifth smaller than its rate during the same period last year. Data published by the Central Bureau of Statistics indicates that there was a real increase in imports in the past 2 months: The import of consumer goods increased by more than one-third, and the import of goods such as cars doubled. Our correspondent Gadi Sukenik notes that the state budget had anticipated an \$800-million improvement in the balance of trade, but so far the reality has been disappointing. Jerusalem Domestic Service in English at 1000 GMT on 7 June reports there was a "large increase in exports last month. Exports of goods totaled \$503 million. This is a 20 percent increase over the same month a year ago. Since the beginning of the year, exports are up by 12 percent. Much of the increase in exports was due to stepped-up hightech and defense sales." [Text] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1400 GMT 9 Jun 85]

FOREIGN CURRENCY RESERVES DROP--Israel's foreign currency reserves dropped in May by another \$61 million and currently stand at just over the \$2 billion red line mark. In contrast to the large money injections in previous months, in May the government absorbed a lot of money--40 billion shekels--as a result of increased tax collection and an infusion of money from the capital market. [Text] [Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1140 GMT 2 Ju ' 85]

CSO: 4400/167

JORDAN

PARLIAMENTARIAN INTERVIEWED ON ISLAMIC MOVEMENT

Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic 16 Apr 85 pp 22-24

[Interview with Yusuf al-'Azm, Jordanian parliamentary deputy: "Arab Minds Must Return to Production Instead of Lingering in Prison Camps. As Holders of Islamic Thought and Unification Ideology, We Do Not Fear the Creation of Parties Provided They Work in the Light"; date and place not specified]

[Text] In the vast sea of events and stream of developments, people need experienced and knowledgeable people to reveal to them what they do not know or to shed light on obscurities. Today, AL-MUJTAMA' is glad to have as a guest Mr Yusuf al-'Azm to discuss with him the political and intellectual issues in the Arab arena. Mr al-'Azm is a prominent member of the Jordanian parliament and a respected educator who still runs the al-Aqsa Schools in Amman. He is also an author and poet whose collections of poems are strictly devoted to the melancholy of al-Aqsa [Mosque]. He started work as a journalist in his early adulthood, heading the editorial staff of AL-KIFAH AL-ISLAMI newspaper, which folded after only 6 issues.

By virtue of his long experience in political and intellectual work, we set out to have this interview with him.

[Question] Through your membership in the Jordanian parliament, how do you conceive the democratic game and who is better at it, the government or the deputies?

[Answer] With my reservations about the term "democracy" which you need in our question, and going beyond the term to the intended meaning, which is linked to freedom of opinion and dialogue between the executive and legislative powers, I believe that parliament must abide by this line and work to implant it deeply in Jordanian political life so that the Jordanian citizen may have the right to express his opinion freely, without concern. The government, any government, takes charge of the country's affairs with a commitment to respond to such a direction so that the scale of freedom and democracy, as you called it in your question, will be balanced between what the people's representatives demand and what the government must provide. The matter is on the level of competition, as you indicated, between the two sides, for each side to register its objectives on a basis of cooperation and sincere work for the good of the country. I think the re-elected, or the

new-old Jordanian parliament has taken good steps and made reasonable historical points compared to the other parliaments or people's assemblies around us. We have been candid in our discussions, but in a framework of good will and decorum which demonstrates that parliamentary life in Jordan has begun to follow a proper course in the field of talking about human rights, asking for general freedoms, expressing opinions and holding a purposeful open dialogue.

[Question] Under the auspices of parliamentary freedom, what is the role of the Islamic current's representatives and on what issues does it focus?

[Answer] The Islamic current has a clear direction and a declared course in parliamentary practice based on three mainstays:

1--Opposition does not mean enmity to anyone or hostility to any person or government. It is opposition to a stand. We support and thank those who do good and we wish them success. We oppose those who do wrong and point out to them the error of their ways so that they may correct them. Herein lies the difference between an understanding official who listens to advice and deals with the other opinion and an official who gets annoyed by any constructive criticism, thus aggravating the situation and putting the opposition and the government in emotional situations which are best avoided.

2--Declaration of the rejection of administrative corruption and backwardness, crookedness and deviation. All the Islamic current representatives agree on that and every good person in parliament accepts nothing but the truth and a position of giving. People differ to the extent of their acceptance of and their agreement on this sort of thing.

3--The demand to Islamicize society on the basis of quiet change that bears no enmity to anyone and does not deny any effort by any person in society. Hence, we call for a total orientation toward changing the informational programs and educational curricula and instituting purposeful Islamic laws and enlightened thought as a substitute for closed secular thought and imported and patched up positive laws. We are joined in this by all those who love their country, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, because Islam as we know and explain to the people is a religion, a civilization and a way of life for Muslims and a heritage and civilization for the non-Muslim Arabs who take pride in it.

[Question] What do you think about the idea of political parties and do you support the adoption of the multi-party system in Jordan?

[Answer] Parties in Jordan exist on the basis of their varying powers, although this is not officially sanctioned. Therefore, I see no objection to the creation of parties which given the right to express their opinions without fitful reactions by the ruling political authorities or extremism on the part of the parties toward sabotage or the destruction of the country's march toward stability. Perhaps I am not skirting the truth when I say that we, as holders of an Islamic thought and unification ideology, do not fear the creation of parties so long as they work in the light because, when

people hear the views of others and allow us to state our own views, they can differentiate between good and bad and will follow the good. Through comparison, contact and purposeful, calm, and intellectual encounters, I thing Islamic thought will ultimately come out the winner.

[Question] Those who are involved in the Islamic Call hold differing views on political action and educational action in terms of which one comes first and which is more important. How do you view this question?

[Answer] Reverting to my position as an educator and a teacher, a position I held early in my professional life--I am still director general of the al-Aqsa Schools--I see that this difference is not supposed to exist unless we allow a mathematics teacher to call for the abandonment of the Arabic language or science or an Arabic language teacher to call for the cancellation of science and mathematics. Thus, educational integration means that students must take all the scientific, intellectual, literary and humanity courses. This goes for education and politics as well, for each one of them is important and necessary. To call for the elimination of spiritual education from the Call's march is like building a house on sand which is sure to collapse. And calling for the elimination of political enlightenment is like asking for the establishment of blind education that is lost in its process and does not know the way amid currents that are contemporary in their various inclinations and troubles.

The call that believes in the concept of universality of thought and educational integration does not differentiate between the two lines, but rather combines them with discernment and awareness. As for which one comes first, it is obvious that a building starts with a foundation before the walls and roof. Spiritual education is the foundation, but there has to be continuity to build the walls and roof in order to have the desired house. Circumstances or the kind of society in which the Islamic Call is found may prescribe concentration on the political aspect at times, but this does not mean in any way that the basis, which is to raise a strong generation the produces upright human beings and struggling Muslims who give up everything for their noble goals in life, must be ignored.

[Question] It is said that the Islamic awakening is a passing phenomenon, on its way out for reasons that have to do with the awakening and others related to hostile designs. What is your assessment of the awakening phenomenon?

[Answer] The contention that the Islamic awakening is a passing phenomenon is a frivolous claim and a mistaken viewpoint held by those who are not living the experience or are not close to the awakening. Such people judge a country or a people by superficial resolutions in the press without living with the people or being part of their ranks. Hence, my assessment of the awakening springs from the roots of this nation, which are not strange to it. It is indeed a return to well-established and noble roots. It is hard to say that the awakening, which is deeply-rooted in our hearts, hopes and aspirations, is a passing phenomenon. It is possible to say, however, that the awakening may be contained and restrained in keeping with the designs of

the nation's enemies within or without. But I believe that such containment will be contained itself and will go away on the strength of the awareness of the awakening's caretakers, who include youth groups and wise leaders. Just as the enemies are planning to strike at the awakening, the caretakers must also plan how to avoid the strike and how to fend off imminent danger. "God hath full power and control over His affairs but most among mankind know it not."

[Question] What is the backdrop of the recent cabinet reshuffle and what are its repercussions on the official Jordanian direction toward the so-called peace?

[Answer] Jordanian society is used to occasional cabinet changes. The reason for the change may be internal: to stimulate a stagnant economy or to effect security relaxation or change personnel who have their own style of government or convictions, or for external reasons that have to do with turning to a specific Arab capitol or working for the establishment of so-called Arab solidarity. This is not strange to the Jordanian street where the term of government may be very long, lasting for several years, or short. Nonetheless, one of the tasks of the newly-formed government is to stimulate the "peace plan," which assumes many forms, thus confusing the ordinary person as to what kind of peace is intended or what kind of plans are being put forth. When positions are mixed together and plans are many, the clarity of vision in many Arab capitals is lost and everyone comes back with a clear conviction that the Jews are not advocates of peace of seekers of justice. Rather, they are advocates of expansion, arrogance and blatant hostility.

[Question] A propos, do you think that the so-called peace initiatives will lead to any results? If so, what are they and why?

[Answer] I do not think the Jews will accept any concessions so long as they see a deep-rooted Arab disagreement among the various leaders and the conflicting capitols. I think the short-term result at least will be to shelve the files and not one of the doors of the alleged peace will be opened for us to meet the foreordained fate. We ask God to grant us victory for only the door of holy war will be opened, albeit after some time.

[Question] How do you view the future of the struggle with the Jews and what are the duties of Muslims in this regard?

[Answer] It is a struggle between two ideologies and two civilizations. To be or not to be: this is the plan and the direction the Jews have put before us. They do not accept our presence on our land. The nation's duty is to plan, if its leaders are intent on preserving themselves at least.

1--All the resources that have left the country must return so that they may be used in industry and Arab society may be converted from a consumer society that imports everything to a production society that manufactures its clothes and cultivates its food.

2--Arab emigrant minds must be recalled to settle in scientific laboratories, military factories and production sites, instead of lingering in jail and terrorist detention camps.

3--The nation must prepare itself informationally, educationally, and militarily, based on the principle of struggle and martyrdom so that the nation that is ready to die may be granted life.

It is in this direction that the deep psychological revolution is able to face the Jewish hostile and arrogant provocations lies. Otherwise, it will be all over.

[Question] An official tendency to give a chance to the leftist national currents has been noted in more than one Arab country. What are the reasons for this in your opinion?

[Answer] As I see it, the reasons are foreign. Foreign advisors suggest such a thing to reach an equilibrium between the different currents. Consequently, the ruling regimes continue in the vortex of the struggle between the different sides. It is a wrong tendency and dubious advice from our enemies because opening the intended door and guiding and sympathizing with the left will yield chaos and disorder. Had the left emerged on the strength of popular conviction, it would have been a normal thing. But planning for it at night produces by dawn serpents that devour the advisors and those they advise. I reckon that fear from Islamic expansion and the spreading of apprehension about the Islamic movements is what prompts them to push the left into the arena in an affected manner that they will regret.

[Question] The Arab nation is experiencing a recession in literary production in various fields, Islamic literature particularly. Why is that and what do you suggest as a remedy?

[Answer] Some of the reasons are beyond the scope of the Islamic movement, due to the existence of a press and a communication medium which is Arab in script but foreign in loyalty, that fight committed Islamic literature and accept committed Marxist or secular literatures. This includes the resistance facing the fine Islamic literature on the part of certain ruling regimes and the fact that some studied literature in foreign schools that have nothing whatsoever to do with the literature of our nation. Other reasons concern the Islamic movement itself in that some preachers have gone through the oratory and preaching phase, abandoning the other techniques of expression and delivery, such as articles, with, stories, stage plays and poetry, all of which they did not study at legitimate colleges or did not put into practice. Consequently, we ended up with secular authors torn from their civilization and ideology or scientists far removed from literary brilliance and the techniques of soft expression and fine delivery. [This is] while we know that our authors used to be men of letters and our scientists were men of letters as well. Hence, there is a clear call to bring back this form of expression, to express our thoughts in the literature on our sound thoughts derived from our lofty civilization. This cannot be

achieved overnight. It requires effort, cooperation and the creation of private and public institutions to sponsor the direction of the partnership which I have indicated.

AL-MUJTAMA' thanks Mr Yusuf al-'Azm for this fine interview and hopes to have more such encounters so long as the aim is to serve Islam and the Muslims.

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CSO: 4404/341

OMAN

**ECONOMIC GROWTH FORECAST**

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 30 May 85 p 2

[Article by P.S. Ramanathan]

[Text]

**MUSCAT**—The overall picture of the Sultanate's economy is one of continued growth. During 1984, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) did slightly better than the previous year's five per cent, according to the Central Bank of Oman's estimates based on regressions.

The trend of things in the first quarter of this year indicates that the growth pattern will persist, and most likely record some acceleration, because of a budgeted six per cent increase government spending.

The banking sector has made impressive growth as reflected by the total balance sheet. It has been an all-round surge—in deposits, credits and profits. The money supply moved in an orderly way and the general price level showed a dip, as evidenced by a 10-point slump in food price index, from 118 to 108, reports the Central Bank periodical Al Markazi.

Provisional figures for the overall balance of payments indicate a RO78 million surplus for 1984.

The main trends and indicators, as also facts relating to the performance of the national economy last year, were conveyed by the President and Deputy Chairman of the Central Bank, Dr Abdul Wahab Khayata, at the recent annual meet-

ing of the bankers at the Guardian Banks headquarters in the Muttrah business district.

Dr Khayata outlined the basic development in detail and called upon the bankers to be more actively involved in rural development, by arranging to finance small businessmen and entrepreneurs through the branch network.

He pointed out that the Central Bank, in coordination with a leading Indian bank, Bank of Baroda, was initiating pilot studies into the various aspects of rural upliftment.

Unlike in 1983, when oil prices fell drastically, only a marginal decline in prices was in evidence last year. With an increase in oil output, which more than offset the impact of falling prices, and an expected growth in non-oil sector, at a rate higher than in 1984, the GDP is projected at a higher realm accordingly.

Crude production, as published in the Development Council's bulletin, was 152.4 million barrels—a seven per cent increase over the 1983 figure. Exports last year were 135 million barrels against 128.6 million in 1983.

Non-oil exports, including re-exports, rose by 4.6 per cent, to RO127.2 million. It is significant that the non-oil domestic exports recorded a 62 per cent rise, to RO17.2 million, largely as a result of

improved shipments from the Oman Mining Company's Sohar complex and from the fisheries. The value of re-exports remained more or less the same as in 1983.

The growth in economic activities is also reflected in the rise of international trade. The recorded value of imports was better by 10.3 per cent (RO39.3 million up). With the exception of machinery and transport equipment, all items showed significant increases. Articles not classified and animal fats/vegetable oils, witnessed decidedly high percentage increases, of 53.4 per cent and 46.7 per cent respectively, while manufactured goods and miscellaneous items merited higher increases, valuewise, of RO29.9 million and RO23.5 million, respectively.

A 0.9 per cent drop was in evidence in import of machinery and transport equipment.

A total of 13,276 tonnes copper, valued at RO5.7 million, were exported in 1984, as compared to 4,143 tonnes worth RO1.9 million in the preceding year. Exports of fish, frozen and dried, have been growing steadily, and in 1984, 17,774 tonnes were despatched to different overseas destinations, fetching the

country foreign exchange worth RO6.3 million.

There has been marginal increases in exports of traditional items like dates and dried limes, as also in bananas and tomatoes.

Currency in circulation reached RO163.7 million at the end of 1984, of which RO150 million was held by the public, thus representing annual growth rates of 7.7 per cent and 6.8 per cent, respectively.

An increase of 7.1 per cent was noted in the narrowly defined money supply (M1), made up of currency with the public and demand deposits in local currency of private and quasi-government agencies. The total stood at RO291.4 million.

A higher growth rate of 16 per cent was recorded in private domestic liquidity (M2) as it reached RO809.2 million in December. (M2 comprises total of the currency with the public and demand, savings and time deposits in local as well as foreign currencies, of private and quasi-government bodies).

The total assets of commercial banks grew by 21 per cent to RO1,218.5 million. Credit to the private sector, a significant factor in driving the economy, increased by RO85.4 million.

CSO: 4400/166

SAUDI ARABIA

FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT DISCUSSED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 4 May 85 pp 26-27

[Article by Sulayman Nimr: "France Reassures the Saudis: We Will Never Forfeit Our Arab Relations for the Sake of the Nuclear Reactors!"]

[Text] Political observers have recently been following the strong Saudi concern about the news which has broken of the French intention to sell nuclear reactors to Israel and to facilitate Israeli payment of the cost of the contract, which amounts to approximately \$3 billion. Saudi concern, which AL-MUSTAQBAL pointed out in its issue published last 20 April, is significant because it might become a crisis reflecting on the excellent relations which bind Riyadh and Paris, in a manner which threatens many of the French economic interests with the Saudis. Riyadh is concerned over the issue because of its fear of the Israeli endeavor to develop its nuclear capability. Foreign Minister Sa'ud al-Faysal warned of such nuclear activity in a nation "known to international public opinion for its recklessness and provocation", saying "Israeli acquisition of nuclear power must concern the world, and not the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia alone."

Another Saudi concern, in addition to news of the French contract for providing nuclear reactors to Israel, derives from Saudi fear of the existence of Israeli efforts to participate with certain French quarters to destroy the fabric of French-Arab relations in general, and French-Saudi relations in particular in such a manner as to impel France to abandon the Arabs, and to impel the Arabs likewise to abandon the French. This crisis is significant because it is being aggravated in a way that threatens numerous French interests in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and with the Arab world. Therefore, because of the Saudi desire to avoid forfeiting the positive relations which King Fahd has tried to reinforce, Riyadh is striving to contain the crisis which could erupt with Paris over the nuclear reactors, by pursuing a quiet diplomatic path in silence, far from the clamor of explanations and commentary, to deal with the aspects of the matter before it explodes into a crisis which would jeopardize the relations between the two nations.

In fact, this diplomacy proved capable of resolving the issues, as indicated by Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, who told AL-MUSTAQBAL in response to a question concerning the topic of the French nuclear reactors, on the day of the arrival of the French Minister of External Relations Mr Roland Dumas, "We asked the French authorities about the facts of their intentions to sell nuclear reactors to Israel, and their response was that nothing had yet been finalized concerning the issue."

The French behaved positively about the issue this time, expressing Paris' desire to preserve its relations with Riyadh and the rest of the Arab capitals. Paris reacted to the Saudi concern not only by informing the Saudis that the contract had not yet been completed, but by dispatching Minister of External Relations Roland Dumas to deal with any roots of the problem underlying the dispute, of which the French said, "The Israelis were the ones who exaggerated news of it in such a manner as to make the issue appear as if agreement had already been reached on it." Therefore, when Minister of External Relations Roland Dumas arrived in Riyadh last Saturday morning, it was learned that the nuclear reactors would be among the topics he would discuss with Saudi officials. When Mr Dumas was questioned upon his arrival at Riyadh airport whether he would discuss this topic with Saudi authorities, he said: "If Saudi officials wish to discuss the topic, there is nothing preventing it because our relations are based on complete candor, and there are no forbidden topics of discussion." In fact, when the first session of discussions between Minister Sa'ud al-Faysal and the French minister and the Saudi and French delegations was conducted, discussion during the beginning of the session on the topic of the nuclear reactors did not last more than 10 minutes. During those 10 minutes, the french minister was able to affirm to Saudi officials:

1. The nuclear deal which was said France would provide Israel had consisted merely of technical consultation and communication alone. As yet, no actual agreements have been reached concerning its conclusion, and all the uproar circulating about the topic was a fabrication, the goal of which was to cause the deterioration of relations between Paris and Riyadh.
2. The French government would protect its relations with Riyadh and the remainder of the Arab capitals, and would find it impossible to undertake any step which would harm these relations even if that meant abandoning any thought of selling nuclear reactors to Israel.

Foreign diplomatic sources in Riyadh informed AL-MUSTAQBAL that Paris had in fact repudiated the implementation of the nuclear reactors deal after it appeared that this contract threatened to cause the cancellation of a contract for Mirage 2000 aircraft which France wants to sell to Saudi Arabia. The value of this contract amounts to approximately \$4 billion. Therefore the French, in order to win the aircraft contract, and in order to maintain its good relations and

economic interests with Arab nations, halted the dialogue with the Israelis about the nuclear reactors. The aspiration which the French Minister of External Relations expressed for close relations of his country with Riyadh made his talks proceed smoothly, just as Minister Dumas said himself.

After the 10 minutes of the session of discussions, which took place in the Saudi Foreign Ministry building in Riyadh, the French and Saudi delegations widened the scope of topics tabled for debate, the first being the Lebanese topic. The french minister presented a briefing on the developments of situationa in Lebanon in light of the talks he had held one day prior to his arrival in Riyadh with President Amin al-Jumayyil. The Saudi-French viewpoint with regard to the Lebanese problem was unanimous in its pessimism concerning the future of developments and events which Lebanon is witnessing. Therefore, there was Saudi-French agreement to work towards aiding Lebanon as far as possible to extricate it from its ordeal, and likewise, there was agreement on the necessity of the rapid and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces, and the deployment of international emergency forces along Lebanon's international borders.

After this hour of discussions, additional French-Saudi discussions were conducted in the evening at a dinner party at the residence of Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, which lasted approximately 3 hours. A number of Saudi ministers shared in an aspect of the discussions, among whom were Minister of Petroleum Mr Ahmad Zaki al-Yamani and Minister of Industry and Electricity 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Zamil. In these meetings, the remainder of the topics for which the French delegation had come to exchange viewpoints were covered, resulting in the expression of opinions characterized by Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal as "similar if not identical" regarding the Middle East crisis and the Iran-Iraq War. These evening meetings paved the way for Minister Dumas to meet afterwards with Saudi Second Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense and Aviation Sultan bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz, who hastened to inquire of his guest about the truth of the statement expressed by the previous foreign minister, Claude Cheysson, (who currently works as the chief of the European Common Market Committee), in which he said "The Arab boycott of companies which do business with Israel harms the Arabs more than anyone else." Prince Sultan's query expressed the Saudi conviction in their belief that such statements do not serve the relationship between France and the Arabs. Throughout the meeting of Prince Sultan with the French minister, a general discussion was conducted concerning military cooperation between Paris and Riyadh.

A source in the French delegation who participated in this meeting informed AL-MUSTAQBAL that "in terms of military cooperation, there is nothing new, and no new agreements. All that happened was that the Saudis expressed an ongoing interest in monitoring the latest developments in French arms production." After the meeting with Prince Sultan, the French foreign minister met with the Saudi monarch, King Fahd,

at a late hour of the evening. This meeting culminated the cordial and excellent discussions which the French minister conducted in Riyadh. The French minister crowned his talks by extending an invitation to the Saudi monarch, King Fahd, to visit France at any time he desired. In order to confirm that the Saudis were completely satisfied with their relations with Paris, King Fahd accepted this invitation, the date of which will be set subsequently; and in order to confirm also that Tiyadh looks favorably upon French positions, Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal said to journalists as he bid farewell to his French guest last Sunday morning: "We very much appreciate the French positions in support of justice and humanity in the world, and we very much appreciate its stance on the Palestinian issue.

12815  
CSO: 4404/357

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

EDITORIAL FAVORS NEUTRALITY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 30 May 85 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

IN a letter to the Federal National Council, disclosed on Tuesday, Shaikh Hamdan bin Mohammed, Deputy Prime Minister, has reiterated the well-known principles which have guided the foreign policy of the UAE since its inception. He has stated emphatically that the country's policy "is totally based on neutrality and rejects all acts that might infringe upon the sovereignty and security of our country or any other state" The Deputy Prime Minister was responding to the FNC's request for a clarification of foreign news reports that one of the UAE's member-emirates had rented out a strip of territory to the US for use as a base for the latter's rapid deployment force. Shaikh Hamdan said categorically that the reports were untrue and groundless.

Although the UAE's principled position is well known, its public reaffirmation from time to time is necessary to expose our enemies who would want to undermine our integrity and sow seeds of discord among the countries of the region. As the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Rashid Abdulla, stated at the UN last October, the UAE is committed to the notion that the security of the Gulf is exclusively the responsibility of the littoral states. Earlier in the year, Shaikh Khalifa bin Zayed, Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi and Deputy Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, had rejected any foreign intervention in the region under any circumstances, and stated that the UAE would not allow any foreign country to establish a military base on its territory or provide military facilities to the superpowers who aim at imposing their "hegemony" on the whole region. Last month, the FNC and the Syrian People's Council in a joint communique had condemned the massing of foreign fleets in the territorial waters of the region and demanded that the Gulf be kept clear of foreign intervention. So, leaders and institutions at all levels have been proclaiming the same policy consistently over a long period.

This policy is based on a clear understanding of world politics and history which provide numerous examples of how the sovereignty and interests of countries can be compromised by reliance on the so-called protection of foreign powers. A few weeks ago, there was a news report that the US and the Soviet Union had concluded a secret agreement to allow each a free hand in the Gulf and Afghanistan, respectively, without of course consulting the peoples of the regions. If this is true it shows how our fate can be sealed by cynical trade-offs between the superpowers. The UAE, in common with its AGCC partners, has therefore spurned all attempts to entangle it in military alliances dominated by the superpowers. The government has instead put its faith in collective strength through the AGCC which is not a military bloc against anybody but an instrument for the protection of the region's own national interests. If other countries, particularly in the Indian Ocean region, similarly denied military facilities to the superpowers, we could go a long way to achieving our cherished dream of making this entire area a zone of peace.

CSO: 4400/166

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

EXPATRIATE LABOR SURVEY

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 28 Apr 85 p 3

[Article by Ahmed Hassan]

[Text]

THE number of Arab expatriate workers in the AGCC states has increased substantially in the last few years.

According to a report published by the secretariat of the Arab League, the number of Arab expatriates working in the Gulf states could number well over four million.

The report, which mentions a survey conducted at the end of 1983, states that most of them are Egyptians, accounting for more than 2.7 million, and working mostly in Saudi Arabia.

Nationals of North Yemen, most of them employed in Saudi Arabia, account for half a million. Another half a million are from Jordan and Occupied Palestine. Expatriates from Lebanon and Sudan account for half a million. Others include Syrians, Tunisians, Somalia and nationals of South Yemen.

The report says that the population of the AGCC states is expected to rise by another 13 to 14 per cent in the next five years, from an estimated 14.5 million now to 16.3 million by the end of this decade. The population of the UAE is expected to increase by one-third.

Arab League experts say that the population of the UAE could range between 2.1 to 2.3 million. The ministry of Planning is to conduct census at the end of this year. According to the last census, the population of the country was 1.2 million. The Arab League report estimates the population of the UAE to be 1.5 to 1.6 million now.

It is estimated that the population of the AGCC countries within a decade will rise by an estimated 148 per cent.

With regard to non-Arab immigrant labour, the report says that during 1980, 31 per cent of the labour employed was non-Arab in Saudi Arabia, 59 per cent in Kuwait and 72 per cent in the UAE.

CSO: 4400/166

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

SITUATION IN MAGHRIB 'ANS REGION FOLLOWING EARTHQUAKE

Criticism of Rate of Development

Sanaa AL-AMAL in Arabic 21 Apr 85 p 4

[Open Letter by Muhammad Ahmad al-Mushaki, director general of San'a' Province: "In Reply to the directors of Agriculture and Health: A Calm Debate on Conditions in Maghrib 'Ans"]

[Text] While regularly following AL-AMAL reports on the Maghrib 'Ans region, which has been deprived of the projects and services of the blessed revolution for many years save for the building of secondary roads using bulldozers from the former cooperative agency, it gives me pleasure to express my greetings and great appreciation for the concern you have exhibited in writing about the conditions in the region and in taking the trouble to send your representative to the area to seek out the truth and clear up matters concerning what has been done through interviews with the directors of the Offices of Health and Agriculture in the province. They confirmed the absence of any projects in the region. This is conclusive proof that what is being reported in AL-AMAL is true and real.

It also confirms that AL-AMAL has not engaged in prattle and distortion or flattery and pomp like those who have become accustomed to deceiving the people.

The government has met 75 percent of the responsibility in developing the area and is also offering aid and appropriations in all fields. However, there is deficiency in the implementation process.

The statement of the director of agriculture is surprising and, indeed, baffling for how can he cite all the agricultural projects in Bani Saba, Ibb Province, in al-Jabi Rayman, San'a' Province, and in Shar'ab, Ta'izz Province, as if he is not responsible for the Province of Dhamar. If he wanted to elucidate, why did he not cite as an example what has been done on the provincial level, i.e. there were any agricultural projects? Or, it would have been more appropriate for him to say they did not exist. He who says he does not know is better than he who says he does know but [actually] does not.

The same goes for the statements of the director of the Office of Health who promised that projects would be completed in 1985. I know that the office directors in administrative units in the provinces do not take charge of executive projects, but only administer completed projects which are handed over to the unit. These units, namely the ministerial offices and government agencies in the provinces, submit data and statistics to the ministry within the compass of the province and they are in charge of monitoring. But the brothers used as an excuse the failure of the Maghrib 'Ans inhabitants to file a request. This failing may be the fault not of the citizens but of the cooperative agency which represents the region's council, monitors projects in all fields and maintains contact with the competent authorities, as is the case with many cooperative agencies that appreciate their responsibilities.

These agencies' work is not confined to the implementation of projects and participation in the implementation of the work which they originate. Their work goes beyond that to include monitoring projects designated for the area and facilitating the task of officials dispatched by the authorities to undertake surveys and planning or those officials who visit the area. This is in addition to constant monitoring and contacts with the competent sides who are undertaking all the various kinds of projects. As for the citizens, they are helpless unless they happen to have influence and influential people are non-existent in this area due to the deprivation and isolation that has afflicted this area before and after the revolution. There is another phenomenon that impedes the carrying out of projects designated in the cabinet's plan, such as education. The problem, however, arises when choosing locations over which people get into disagreements, and we do not know who is responsible for solving such problems.

I cite as an example the location of the Mushik school project chosen by the Ministry of Education. Work on this project began in 1981 but was halted because of a disagreement between two villages, each of which wanted the project for itself and the conflict was taken all the way up to the governor.

The former governor visited the location and chose a new location, other than the one approved by the ministry's engineers. A violent conflict erupted between the two villages and the second governor visited the two locations and approved building two schools, one at the government's expense and the other to be finished by the inhabitants. The inhabitants paid the money to the bank, and what happened next? This project, which was started 3 years ago, has not been finished by the Ministry of Education. So what does the minister of education have to say about it? What does the governor of Dhamar Province, Lt Col Yahya Muslih Mahdi, the third governor, have to say about settling the conflict and finishing the project? This urgent question needs an answer.

Another question is, who is responsible for the implementation of the designated projects and how much longer will this region be deprived of projects? Do the competent authorities need the people to pursue this matter? If this is the case, I call upon all the people of the area who are in San'a' to pursue the subject with the competent authorities.

I volunteer right now for this purpose if, as the directors of the Offices of Health and Agriculture claimed, this will help the area and if such projects require personal follow-up by the inhabitants of this area in particular who know what projects it needs. Furthermore, the province no doubt does not lack such information, which can be outlined as follows:

1--Designated projects.

2--Finished projects.

3--Projects under way.

4--The area's needs according to density of population and needs in the various fields.

Thus, you will note what has been done and what has not been done and what the area, or rather every village or subdistrict, needs through a census. This is the shortest way for the newspaper to present and explain the truth and to identify the shortcomings.

I do not mean to go into a detailed discussion to provide you with information. However, I ask AL-AMAL to convey my wish and that of the concerned people of the area to pursue the matter if such a course will help to implement designated projects and to bring government services to it through individual pursuit or if the officials in the province do not consider this issue as part of their bailiwick, or if, in other words, the fulfillment of this area's needs can only be accomplished via citizen pursuit and the presence of ministry representatives in the province does not mean a thing. If such is the case, the area's cooperative agency should go on and not give a hoot.

And, in order not to yield to despair, we set our great hopes on the governor, Staff Lt Col Yahya Muslih Mahdi, who is known for his determination, loyalty, honesty, dedication and untiring efforts to revive the area. If the cause is the people in the area, then "they brought this upon themselves" and the governor can not expect the people to pursue these projects as the two aforementioned brothers indicated.

Anyway, we thank you and hope that the hopes of AL-AMAL and this region of Maghrib 'Ans will be fulfilled under the regime of the leader of our march, the patron of our renaissance and the achiever of the goals of our revolution, the blessed 26 September revolution, Col 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, president of the Republic, commander general of the Armed Forces, secretary general of the People's General Conference and president of the General Federation of the National Cooperative Agencies for Development, on whom the Maghrib 'Ans region and every village in Yemen are setting their hopes for progress and prosperity.

[Signed]

Muhammad Ahmad al-Mushaki  
Director General, San'a' Province

Progress on Earthquake Reconstruction

Sanaa AL-AMAL in Arabic 21 Apr 85 p 4

[Text] Mr. Muhammad Husayn Jaghman is a well-known personality who has occupied many cabinet positions. Now he is the director general of the executive office for the reconstruction of the areas damaged by the earthquake with the rank of minister.

Although he has not held this job for very long, he is well aware of the scope of the responsibility which has been assigned him. He stores in his mind the most basic data about the areas which have been damaged by the disaster that struck Dhamar Province in 1983.

AL-AMAL met with him in his office on the 5th floor without a prior appointment. The first thing that catches the eye in his office are the maps that decorate the walls and show the locations of the damaged areas.

At first, the minister asked me about the topic of the interview and I told him that it concerned the reconstruction program in the Maghrib 'Ans region. What has been done? What has not been done? We wanted to be well-informed about this subject before publishing a full report on the reconstruction in this region.

Right away he praised the concept of investigation and scrutiny followed by AL-AMAL in order to have a clear picture before writing and publishing its articles on the various issues, in view of the fact that this practice allows the journalist to be well-informed and gives him strength and the means for writing and constructive criticism without doubt or fear.

When he stopped talking, I took the opportunity to tell him of my visit a month ago to the Maghrib 'Ans region where I had a close look at the conditions of the indigenous population. He asked me about my impressions and I said:

"The Maghrib 'Ans region is one area that was greatly damaged by the earthquake. Even since then, the people there have been complaining about the lack of reconstruction and are wondering about the reasons for that."

The fact is that the people are living in tin houses and tents and some are still in their cracked houses, threatened by an imminent new disaster. This situation has unsettled their lives and exposed them to all sorts of diseases, particularly the children, who have no resistance to the hot sun and the winds that penetrate the tents. Diseases, such as typhoid and paralysis, have spread and many deaths among children have been recorded. I used as an example the village of Akamat al-Zaylah where 22 children died due to the lack of medical care. I tried to be brief and concentrate on this aspect because it is at the core of the duties of the executive office for reconstruction.

The director of the office said: "The government is taking care of all the citizens in all parts of the country without any discrimination whatsoever. If there is discrimination, they are isolated cases necessitated by difficult circumstances or financial problems. Our concern is to solve the people's problems all at one time.

"With regard to the reconstruction of the areas damaged by the earthquake, we plan to conduct a new survey of all the areas and demolished houses with a view to implementing the construction projects in a sound manner that will provide stability for the people. The government's policy is to rebuild the damaged areas and it is intent on taking care of all the unfinished business.

"We have to explain here that the damaged areas are divided into:

--Damaged areas,  
--Totally destroyed areas,  
--Semi-destroyed areas, and  
--Cracked houses.

"At first we concentrated on the densely-populated areas which are easy to reach. Fourteen invitations to submit bids have been announced for the construction of 12,000 houses and work is already underway at more than 65 locales with very good results. We are trying to finish work on schedule. The other areas were not included in the bids because they are difficult to reach and the houses are widely-scattered. Furthermore, we did not have enough money to cover everything we want to do, so we had to achieve initial steps and leave the rest for the future.

"Moreover, renovation of cracked houses requires large amounts of money. Nonetheless, we have begun work in Dhamar Province as a start with a view to determining the cost of the program and moving thereafter to other locales.

"Therefore, the areas of Maghrib 'Ans, the northwest of Dawran and Jabal al-Sharaf are outlying areas and their villages are widely-scattered. They may be included in the self-help aid program sponsored by the Netherlands, the European Common Market, the UN Capital Development Fund, the American Agency for Development and our province.

"Aid offered by these countries is conditional on citizen participation in the construction process. We cannot turn it down so long as these countries follow the policy of offering conditional help and there is no doubt that beginning with these conditions is better than waiting. A Yemini-Dutch administration has been set up to run the project through which all the aid is funnelled to carry out the self-help program in Maghrib 'Ans and other areas.

"Citizen contribution is modest in the sense that it is a contribution in kind through the supply of stones, water and dirt and the digging of foundations, with the condition that citizens take part in the construction. Hence the government takes care of 75 percent of the work and the people, 25 percent.

"This work is being done in several stages with a view to assessing every stage and overcoming any problems that may arise. The objective is to guarantee the success of the project. The Executive Office for Reconstruction has actually

started the construction of centers and model homes at many locales in order to select the most appropriate [type of] houses. Also, engineers and advisors have been lined up, meetings with citizens have been held and contracts have been concluded with them to start work.

"We are trying to coordinate our efforts in accordance with human and material capabilities. Work in general has been reassuring to all and our main interest now is to get good support from the political leadership represented in the president and response from citizens and competent authorities in the regions.

"As for the difficulties and obstacles, they will be easily overcome. Only God is perfect and any work has to face some difficulties, but thank God, we have been able to overcome them. 'He who does not work does not make mistakes.'

"All we can say to our people is that we are using all the energies, efficiency and loyalty we can muster."

12502  
CSO: 4404/333

AFGHANISTAN

KARMAL ADDRESSES LOYA JIRGAH

Accomplishments, Goals Detailed

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 25 Apr 85 pp 2-3, 4

[Main speech by Babrak Karmal at the Loya Jirgah; date not specified]

[Text] Part II

The Government of the DRA has constantly been supplying the peasants with seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides and insecticides and has established mechanised agricultural stations for the peasants and has also granted them loans on easy terms. The Government of the DRA, in order to improve the living standards of the peasants of the country twice raised the purchase price of sugar beet and cotton and lowered the price of the chemical fertilizers. As a result of the efforts of the revolutionary state the level of production of the main agricultural products in the year 1363 (begun March 21, 1984) reached to the level of the year preceding the April Revolution. The cooperative movement as a new form of socio-economic activity has been expanding especially in the sphere of agriculture.

Currently the peasants participate in solving the problems of water and land through hundreds of peasant councils and the committees for solving the water disputes.

The State of the DRA created necessary prerequisites for real unity and equality among the tribes and nationalities of the country and for their active participation in the social life and the defence of the revolution in our country. Right now representatives of all nationalities and tribes residing in the country have a share in the leadership and ranks of the PDPA in the central and local organs of State power and social organisations. The revolutionary State of the DRA led by the PDPA has always paid serious attention to the development of the national cultures of the fraternal peoples of the country. For the first time the fraternal nationalities and tribes of the country found the possibility to receive education in their mother tongues and to have press and radio broadcast in their own languages.

The state of the DRA has likewise been paying serious and constant attention to the voluntary settlement of the nomads, improving their living conditions and development of pastures and has been taking other necessary measures to serve their interest.

The revolutionary power, while sincerely respecting the holy religion of Islam and the religious traditions, created the proper grounds for care free performance of religious rites and ceremonies. The huge assistance of the State for establishing 'madrasas' (religious schools) and religious institutions, assistance to religious scholars and clergymen and provision of unprecedented facilities for performing Haj (pilgrimage to Mecca), the establishment of the High Council of Religious Scholars and Clergymen as the prestigious religious organisation and the promotion of the Department of Islamic Affairs to the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Religious Trusts of the DRA are all the vivid examples of the serious attention that the State and Party pay to the holy religion of Islam and to the religious beliefs of the people.

With the victory of the April Revolution, for the first time equality of rights between men and women in the political, economic, social, cultural and legal spheres was proclaimed. Currently tens of thousands of noble Afghan women are directly participating in the process of productive work, administration, education and the defence of the nation and the revolution.

The name of our revolution has an unbreakable link with a universal struggle against illiteracy and improvement of educational system. So far in the course of the general struggle against illiteracy, over one million people have become literate and hundreds of thousands more are attending literacy courses.

Literacy education is the core of our cultural revolution. After the victory of the revolution, with the implementation of the new reform, the educational system of the country gained a new patriotic and progressive content. The network of schools for secondary and higher secondary schools and institutions of higher education was expanded. Great attention was paid to raising the level of social, political, vocational and technical knowledge of the sons of the working people of the country. The prominent examples of this attention are the establishment of workers' college, despatch of thousands of the young boys and girls for training to foreign countries especially to the friendly socialist countries, as well as the admission of the students coming from the workers' families to the institutions of vocational and higher education. A new system of news media was introduced in our country after the victory of the revolution and the radio and TV networks were expanded not only in the capital but also in several provinces.

The broadcasting and telecasting time of the radio and TV, the circulation of the dailies and periodicals and total edition of books increased several fold. Improving and raising the living standard of working people through raising their salaries, giving state subsidies and free of charge distribution of primary necessities of people, distribution of residential apartments, building of sanatoria for workers and working people and giving to them diverse assistance are among the aims of the April Revolution.

The State sector of economy, being the most dynamic and momentous part of the national economy is growing and developing steadily and the Party and the State pay ever greater attention to its further development, because this sector is the main factor for the development and stability of the economy of the country.

Our revolutionary gains in the economic sphere have been noteworthy regardless of the continuation of the undeclared war of imperialism and reaction and economic banditry. The State plans are being implemented. In a number of institutions work plans have been overfulfilled. Major work for the renovation of enterprises and construction of new projects is underway.

These factors have played an important role in ensuring economic stability in the country. The armed counter-revolution and their masters have not been able to put into practice their ominous plans for disrupting economy and creation of destruction, famine and hunger in our country. The State of DRA has always taken into consideration the interest of the various strata of the society, has pursued a policy of long-term and effective cooperation with national bourgeoisie, small traders and craftsmen and has supported the private and mixed sector of the economy.

Special attention, being paid to the destiny of the children who make the future of the country, emanates from the deep human essence of our revolution. After the revolution an extensive network of nurseries, kindergartens, creches, pioneers palaces and rest houses for children and youth have been founded.

All these are indicative of the fact that care for the children, for the prideful future generation is being manifested, is being guaranteed through their sound upbringing at present. The Government of the DRA, regards as one of its main duties to take constant care of the people's health, to ensure mother and child care and improve the health services in the country. Improvement of the health services, combating contagious diseases, provision of free medical assistance and expanding the public health networks in the localities have become possible under the new revolutionary conditions in Afghanistan.

The social policy of the PDPA in the present phase of the revolution is based on drawing of all national democratic forces, classes and strata of the society, including workers, peasants, craftsmen, intellectuals, national traders, patriotic religious scholars and clergymen and elders of tribes and nomads to the process of revolutionary transformations. After the April Revolution in order to develop and expand the bases of revolutionary power, practical grounds for the participation of working people in the administration of State and social affairs were provided through the establishment of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan and Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan, the Unions of Creative Intellectuals and other social organizations. These organizations play an increasingly greater role in drawing the working people to actively participate in the socio-political life of the country.

The masses have acquired under the light of the principled policy of our revolutionary party and state practical possibilities to participate in handling the state and social affairs. The system of social organizations which have united in the framework of the National Fatherland Front being bulwark of the revolutionary power, is becoming ever stronger and is playing a greater role in the affairs of the state and the society. This is

consolidating the unbreakable ties between the party and the people. We are convinced and have declared time and again that the revolutionary power draws strength from the consciousness and cooperation of the people and that in turn the people draw strength from the help of the revolutionary power. The PDPA and the State of DRA would continue their consistent all-sided work aimed at deepening their links with the masses and considering it as a necessary and principled task for the construction of the new and just society. The final victory and invincibility of our revolution lies in this fact. In order to draw greater number of the people in successfully accomplishing the national democratic revolution and to ensure their participation in the administration of state and in social life in the localities, the Law on Local Organs of State Power and Administration of the DRA was approved.

According to this law the representatives of the people in the councils (Jirgahs) of provinces, districts, cities, sub-districts and villages will be elected democratically. The representatives of the Local Organs of State Power and Administration will be the candidates of the National Fatherland Front in whose composition the representatives of entire strata and classes of working people and all tribes and nationalities of the country are represented without any discrimination. The executive committees of the NFF constitute the new organs of power in the localities. The ever further democratization of state administration in the localities strengthens and expands the unity and link of the state with the people. It helps the state in solving the problems of the people of localities and in all-sidedly and speedily tackling the issues in the interest of the working people.

Esteemed Representatives!

The achievements and the success of the revolution would have been much greater had the undeclared war of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction against the DRA not continued. The enemies of the revolutionary Afghanistan are expanding the dimensions of their interference in the internal affairs of our country. This is the main obstacle on the part of the peaceful development of the revolution and speedier realisation of economic and social changes in the interest of the people.

The real instigator of the undeclared war against Afghanistan is the criminal US imperialism. In the past few years US imperialism and its allies have spent over one billion dollars on their subversive anti-Afghan activities. Pakistan has become the springboard of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of our country. Over one hundred military training camps have been set up under the supervision of American, Chinese, Egyptian and other instructors on the territories of Pakistan, where thousands of counter-revolutionary bandits are trained, armed and later despatched to our revolutionary country for sabotage and destruction. Similarly there are camps for training and arming of criminal bands of Afghan counter-revolutionaries in Iran and also in Sing Kiang province of China. In order to achieve their sinister goals, the enemies of the revolution of Afghanistan namely, imperialism, hegemonism and the reaction of the region are using the counter-revolutionary bands of Afghanistan. These traitorous mercenary bands contrary to the traditions, customs, honour and Afghan dignity have put

themselves at their service and try to hide their anti-people and anti-Islamic acts under the name of "Islam" and "freedom."

Nothing can be more shameful than claiming that the Afghan counter-revolutionary bands receive arms for the "defence of Islam and freedom" from the enemies of revolution and Islam. It is only and only the April Revolution which opened the real path for freedom and national independence in our country and for the first time provided the people of Afghanistan the opportunity to take their destiny in their own hands, and not to obey a bunch of parasitic exploiters, and oppressors, any more. The total amount of the aid allocated to the construction of mosques and places of worship and assistance provided to the clergy and religious institutions during the years of the revolution amounts to 881 million Afghanis, which is more than the total amount spent for the purpose during fifty years of the rule of reactionary regimes in the past. In our country the holy religion of Islam is respected, preserved and observed.

We consider the armed counter-revolution as the mercenaries of imperialism in the war against our country. In this war imposed on us the bandits and the criminal mercenary counter-revolutionary leaders are nothing but the instrument of imperialist interference in the internal affairs of our country. They are inciting Afghans to kill Afghans. The enemies of Afghans have hatched a heinous conspiracy to kill greatest number of Afghans, to dismember our country and disrupt the life and peaceful work of Afghan people.

For the treacherous reaction and imperialism the Afghan counter-revolutionary bands constitute a reserve force which is used for suppressing the forces of liberation, peace and progress in the region. The pro-imperialist and militarist Zia-ul-Haq regime is using the Afghan counter-revolutionary bands for suppression of the democratic movement of the peoples of Pakistan, creation of discord among the tribes, consolidation of his personal rule and for the survival of the military dictatorship. At present in Iran, the Afghan counter-revolutionary bands are sent to fronts of war against Iraq and are suppressing the Iranian progressive and patriotic forces, by the Afghan counter-revolutionary bands. These acts committed by the Afghan counter-revolution at the orders of their patrons are against the Afghan honour and dignity.

The counter-revolution brings misery and bloodshed from the other side of our sacred borders, and imposes death and destruction on our people.

The enemies of our country, the counter-revolutionary bandits murder innocent civilians, children, women and old men. They arson and destroy the mosques, schools and hospitals, burn the harvests and crops and impose various kinds of economic pressures on the people of the villages. They destroy the Karezes i.e., underground irrigation systems, roads, bridges, and communication systems. They disseminate decadent reactionary and anti-Afghan culture, attack the honour and dignity of the people and impose forced marriage on women. They abduct the young girls and whenever they get a chance they rob the peasants of their money imposing on them various "fines," etc. They kill the peaceful persons and brutally torture the

people. These imperialist lackeys have opened a specially tragic page against the Afghans.

As a result of the subversive activities of the counter-revolution damages equalling tens of billions of dollars have been inflicted on the economy of our country that is, on Baitul Mal, or the property of the people. The enemies of our people, imperialism headed by the US imperialism, Chinese hegemonism and the reaction of the region have not given up the aggressive schemes aimed at toppling the revolutionary power in the country, installing a reactionary regime attached to imperialism and turning Afghanistan into a base of aggression against the people of the region and the Soviet Union and even the dismemberment of our ancient and prideful fatherland. The ever increasing strengthening of the military potential of Pakistan by American imperialism and Chinese hegemonism with aggressive objectives, has endangered peace and security of the peoples of the region. The continuous and provocative violations of our sacred territories are a proof of this fact. The reactionary ruling circles of Iran, too, have undertaken dangerous and adventurist schemes against our sacred land. The situation is intolerable for us, Afghans. This is why the DRA under the leadership of the PDPA with a feeling of national responsibility and obligation towards the people for safeguarding the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity has put the intensification of the struggle against the counter-revolution, the consolidation and strengthening of the armed forces of the DRA including the police, the State Information Services, and the civilian armed forces such as the groups of the defenders of the revolution, tribal units, frontier militia, self-defence group, civil defence group, brigades of social order and the soldiers of the revolution, on the order of the day.

The defence of the revolution is the national and patriotic duty of every true son of the homeland. It is only by effective defence of the revolution and its achievements that we can ensure nation-wide peace and foil the sinister deeds of the enemies in the same way that our free-born and brave fore-fathers did.

The revolutionary power and the independent revolutionary state of Afghanistan considers the defence of the homeland and the achievements of the April Revolution, ensuring security and peaceful conditions of work for the masses, as its immutable revolutionary duty. The combat capacity of our armed forces and the civil defence forces are at a level which enables them to end any resistance of the counter-revolution. But it is clear to everyone that the main source of the relative capacity of survival and action of the counter-revolutionary bands are the all-sided assistance which it obtains from the imperialist countries, the reaction of the region, the Arab reaction (not the progressive Arab countries and peoples), and Chinese hegemonism. This is why the further consolidation of the ranks of the armed forces and the expansion of all forms of the participation of masses in the defence of the country and revolution is placed on the top of all duties. That is why every real patriot should make necessary contribution to the defence of the homeland and revolution. The most honourable patriotic duty at the present moment is that of joining the ranks of the heroic armed forces of the DRA. The complete and ultimate elimination of the counter-revolution is the sacred task of the

time. We desire an earliest ensuring of peace throughout the country and ending of the bloodshed. I want to point out that the State of the DRA does not put the people who have left the country for different reasons on the same level. Our patriotic national and humanistic responsibility dictates that we should differentiate minutely and responsibly between those who have been misled and those who are caught in the sinister web of the instigators of the undeclared war against the revolutionary Afghanistan. An objective assessment of the situation indicates that the criminal and mercenary leaders of the counter-revolution and those "conscious" counter-revolutionaries who have imperialist ideological positions are not many. These very forces which in reality were the anti-democratic opposition before the revolution, formed the nucleus of the counter-revolution.

After the April Revolution, the representatives of these forces who, as a result of the April Revolution had lost their exploiting and illegitimate privileges and class interest left the country and strengthened this dirty anti-patriotic and anti-revolutionary nucleus. Most of them became themselves the ring-leaders of the counter-revolutionary bands.

The major part of the ranks of the counter-revolution is formed by those people who as a result of the intrigues, lack of sufficient information or due to intimidations and harrassment have joined the bandits. Lies, coercion and the terror of the enemies of the revolution and people have temporarily forced the simple minded fugitives and refugees to enter the camps of the counter-revolution.

The ring-leaders of the counter-revolutionary bandits are enlisting soldiers from among the fugitives, emigres and those nomads who have been kept in Pakistan by force through coercion and under duress. A considerable number of the fugitives and emigres, having suffered inhuman difficulties and realising the truth of the April Revolution and after understanding the true nature of the counter-revolution, are ready to return to their country. But the militarist authorities of Pakistan, Americans, Chinese, Egyptian and other advisers, Arab reaction and also the reactionary and oppressive rulers of Iran and the leaders of the counter-revolution are brutally and mercilessly preventing them from returning home. We cannot remain different towards the destiny of these compatriots and will use all our possibilities to provide the grounds for their return. Our position is clear in this matter. Of course, those who were deceived and now after realizing the truth return to the embrace of the revolutionary system, will be forgiven.

The amnesty decree of the Presidium of the RC is still in force. The punitive sword of the revolution will fall down upon those who consciously betray the homeland and are committing armed crimes against the interest of the people and the homeland. We would not have resorted to force and will not resort to force had the enemies of the revolution have not committed the most hostile and most brutal attacks against our people. We have proved the profoundly humane nature of our revolution by freeing thousands of political prisoners, irrespective of their ideological beliefs and their class, organizational and professional affiliations.

Respected Deputies,

At this point I would like to talk about the fundamental pressing and vital national-historic task which lies before the PDPA and the DRA. That is the creation of solid and reliable barriers on the borders of the country.

In the present conditions, because of the expansion of the provocations and aggressions of reaction, imperialism and hegemonism and the infiltration of armed counter-revolution from abroad, the ensuring of the security of the DRA constitutes our fundamental goal. On the basis of the supreme interests of the State power of the DRA and the national sovereignty of the country, in the interests of the revolution and for the defence of every inch of the territory of our homeland in line with the need to prevent the despatch of arms, ammunition and counter-revolutionary bandits from the territories of Pakistan and Iran, the effective defence of the borders of the DRA with Pakistan and Iran has come to occupy first place among our current duties.

The armed forces and the illustrious, courageous and militant Pashtun tribes who throughout the history have defended the borders of the country in the east and south against colonialists and occupationists as their honour and dignity have the responsibility of the defence of the borders as their national-historic, pressing and immutable obligation. As we have declared, while executing this decision the historic-national and traditional interests of the tribes will be taken into consideration with due account of their loyalty and cooperation with the State of the DRA. We, likewise, declare emphatically that as regards this great decision nobody will be given the right to interfere with and encroach upon the traditional customs and traditions of the tribes and that the normal and customary commercial, economic, cultural and family relations between tribes will be preserved. Furthermore, the passages of the nomads and the local people will be kept open. This decision will be accompanied also with wide-scale measures for the improvement of the economic, social and cultural life of the tribes and promotion of the level of development of the tribal areas. It is the duty of the Party and State organs to implement the policies of the Party and the revolutionary government in a persistent and principled manner.

The State of the DRA devotes constant attention to the prosperity and welfare of the nationalities and tribes and ethnic groups of the country. But it does not mean that the revolutionary power would be excessively lenient towards those who abuse this care and concern of the State. Creation of discord among tribes, secessionist tendencies and attempts to pit them against revolutionary homeland and people will meet our resolute and serious response. But every one should know that we can never be indifferent towards the fate of the free tribes and the brotherly Pashtun and Baluch people who are placed under the boots of ruthless oppression of the militarist reaction of Pakistan and that we feel serious responsibility in this regard on the basis of the principles of peace, freedom and progress. With the victory of the April Revolution the foreign policy of our country was formulated in line with the interests of the noble people of Afghanistan, and on the basis of defence of the territorial integrity, sovereignty and national independence of the homeland, consolidation of peace and security in the region and all

over the world, detente, prevention of new devastating nuclear and non-nuclear global wars, struggle for peaceful co-existence, revolutionary internationalistic solidarity, development and expansion of fraternal, friendly and traditional relations with the Soviet Union and other Socialist and progressive countries, loyalty to the objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement, the defence of the national liberation movements, struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, hegemonism, racism, Zionism, apartheid, colonial exploitation, undeviating respect and strict observance of the United Nations Charter and universal declaration of human rights. The April Revolution is an inseparable part of the world revolutionary process and is in need of favorable international conditions, that is a durable peace in the world and in the region, in order to achieve its objectives. The DRA is consistently taking necessary measures for defending and consolidating peace. We wholly support the Soviet peace initiatives, reflected in the official documents of the CPSU CC and the Soviet State as well as in the recent speeches and interviews of Comrade Gorbachyov, General Secretary of CC CPSU, which are directed at preservation of peace, prevention of arms race, deescalation of international tensions and observance of the principles of peaceful co-existence.

The consolidation, development and expansion of friendly and fraternal relations and mutual traditional cooperation with the Soviet Union in various political, economic, cultural, technical fields, and in other fields, are the guarantor of the consolidation of national independence, growth of national economy, social progress and consolidation of the international positions of our country and help promote good-neighborliness. The Great October Socialist Revolution has played a great role in the success of anti-colonialist and liberation struggle of the people of Afghanistan. The young Soviet Republic in its first declarations expressed its readiness to help the people of the East in their struggle for independence and emancipation from the yoke of colonialism.

The Soviet Union was the first country which officially recognized the independence of Afghanistan and Afghanistan was also the first country which officially recognized the young republic of Soviet Russia. The political, material and moral support of the Soviet Union played a great role in the consolidation of the independence of Afghanistan.

The foundations of extensive Afghan-Soviet economic, cultural and military relations were laid by V. I. Lenin, the great friend of the Afghan people. This was done at a time when the young State of Soviet Russia itself was faced with a difficult economic situation, civil war and the encroachments of imperialism.

On the basis of the unshakable Afghan-Soviet friendship a large number of economic projects have been constructed in our country with Soviet assistance. These include power stations, metallurgy, chemical industries, mining, light industries, house-building, repairing workshops of machine tools as well as motor way, airports and large agricultural farms. Today 99 projects built with Soviet assistance are already operative and 90 other projects are either under construction or in the stage of survey. The institutions built with

Soviet assistance account for 60 percent of overall industrial production of the country. Soviet economic and technical assistance to Afghanistan has played a great role in the growth of the young Afghan working class. In the projects of Afghan-Soviet cooperation 75 thousand skilled workers have been trained in the past 30 years. Thousands of engineers, technicians, doctors, teachers and lecturers have been trained in the scientific and cultural institutions of the Soviet Union. After the victory of the April Revolution the Afghan-Soviet relations were raised to the high level of relations of fraternity and comradeship. These relations are steadily being enriched and developed. The Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighborliness and Cooperation between the DRA and the USSR dated December 5, 1978 opened up a bright chapter in the history of Afghan-Soviet friendship. During the whole course of traditional friendly relationship between the two countries the Soviet Union has extended in the most fateful and important moments of life of our people great vital and disinterested assistance to them for the defence of their freedom, national independence and territorial integrity. The Soviet Union has never sought any political privileges from Afghanistan and never imposed any political conditions upon the people and the government of Afghanistan. Instead she has always pursued the Leninist policy of good neighborliness, cooperation and friendship towards our people and has always wished to see our country free, independent, advanced and prosperous.

Allow me once again to express on behalf of the people of Afghanistan my profound gratitude and appreciation for the internationalistic and timely military assistance to the people of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union which positively responded to the request of the DRA in the most difficult and delicate historical moments. This brotherly assistance foiled the ominous plots of imperialism and reaction for the dismemberment of Afghanistan and destruction of our society.

Esteemed representatives,

The enemies of revolutionary Afghanistan are striving to maliciously misrepresent the nature of the fraternal military help of the Soviet Union. The hullabaloo about "Afghanistan issue," which is malevolently raised by imperialism, regional reaction and Chinese hegemonism is nothing, but a shameless interference in the internal affairs of our country and violation of the norms of international law.

The limited military contingents of the Soviet Union in the DRA will remain in Afghanistan so long as there is danger of the interference of imperialism and reaction against the DRA. When outside interferences and encroachments against the DRA end and international guarantees are provided for their non-recurrence, these contingents will return to their peace-loving land on the basis of the accord of the two sides (i.e. the DRA and USSR). The presence of the Soviet limited contingents in Afghanistan poses no danger to others. It is a matter which concerns two fraternal countries.

Afghanistan is a free, peace-loving, non-aligned, independent, sovereign country which has full freedom to establish relations with any country of the world, and can request assistance from any country of the world it may choose for the defence of her national interests.

The imperialist attempts to limit Afghanistan's foreign relations and to determine for her, her friends and foes are a manifestation of open interference in the internal affairs of our country and disregarding the national sovereignty of Afghanistan. We will decisively fight against these efforts which pursue colonialist and neo-colonialist aims.

We strongly condemn the setting up of the Central Command of the USA (CENTCOM) which has created serious dangers for the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of South and South East Asia, the Gulf region, the Indian Ocean, the Middle East and the Horn of Africa, is one of the manifestations of the interventionist and aggressive policies of US imperialism and of the intensification of its military presence thousands of kilometres away from its own coasts.

The insane arming of Pakistan as a regional gendarme of US imperialism has posed a real danger to its neighbouring countries, particularly the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the great peace-loving India.

We are in favour of ending the senseless war between Iran and Iraq from which imperialism benefits.

The solution of the Middle East problem, at the core of which lies the realisation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Muslims, is possible through checking the aggressions and occupationist and expansionist designs of Israeli Zionists and their imperialist patrons, through the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied lands and through the official recognition of the right of national sovereignty for the people and creation of an independent Palestinian State in the land of Palestine.

We support the rightful cause of the brotherly Palestinian people and other brotherly Arab peoples in the struggle against Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction.

We condemn with wrath and indignation the plan of US imperialism to launch aggression against revolutionary Nicaragua and once again proclaim our solidarity with the revolutionary people of Nicaragua.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has put forward concrete, realistic, practical acceptable for all and flexible proposals and initiatives for the settlement of the tense situation around Afghanistan, which is the direct result of the aggressive and interventionist policies of reaction, hegemonism and imperialism. The proposals of May 14, 1980 and August 24, 1981 of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are a vivid proof to that. These proposals also reflect the interests of all the brotherly peoples of Pakistan and Iran as well. With unswerving loyalty to this principled policy, we once again declare our preparedness for the solution of controversial and unsolved issues with Pakistan and Iran. Regretfully the militaristic regime of Pakistan under the pressures exerted by Washington; the US administration, at the head, and a number of reactionary and imperialist countries as well as the cruel, reactionary ruling circles of Iran do not have sincere intentions for the solution of these problems.

We have taken practical steps in this direction with goodwill and sincerity and expect reciprocity from our neighbours. Once again we declare that the disputed problems can be solved through direct negotiations in a just and democratic manner. The brotherly peoples of Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan are linked by age-old historical cultural and traditional bonds. The militaristic regime of Pakistan and reactionary Iranian ruling circles by neglecting this historical reality and contrary to the will of the peoples of their countries have embarked on a path of hostility towards our people.

Today the international position of Afghanistan is stronger and more prestigious than any other time. The unshakable internationalist relations between Afghanistan, the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, international working class, national liberation movements, progressive regimes and progressive political parties and organisations all over the world are satisfactorily expanding. Today Afghanistan has diplomatic relations with 80 countries of the world.

The PDPA is having relations with 135 fraternal workers, revolutionary and democratic parties and national liberation movements. Meanwhile, as you know, on the initiative of the World Peace Council the first week of the month of Saur is being celebrated as a week of solidarity with the people of Afghanistan. The revolutionary Afghanistan once again expresses gratitude for the expression of militant solidarity with the rightful cause of the revolution and the people of Afghanistan by progressive forces, parties and organisations of the world.

The PDPA and the Government of the DRA express deep concern over the danger threatening the peace and human life and civilisation. As a result of aggressive policy of imperialism, with the US imperialism at the head, the danger of war has increased. The imperialists striving for acquiring military superiority and for intensifying nuclear arms race and dragging it to the outer space, use of state terrorism in the international arena, interfering in the internal affairs of others, declaration of a crusade against socialist countries and world working class and national liberation movements has more than ever led to further aggravation of international tension.

Esteemed representatives of Loya Jirgah, brothers:

What has led you and us all to gather together here is a burning love for the homeland and the desire for ensuring nationwide peace and the quest for a common destiny and the future of our coming generations in accordance with the imperatives of the present situation. We will be called to account, by the history.

The present Loya Jirgah must open its way in the heart of storming revolutionary history of contemporary Afghanistan. The name of the present Loya Jirgah must rank with the sacred name of peace, freedom, progress and the beautiful and prideful name of the land of Afghans.

--Let the coming generations recall this Loya Jirgah proudly and with a contented conscience.

--Let the major and historical decisions of ours be a befitting homage to the memory of great revolutionary youth of the country who live in eternity in the Martyrs Hill and in the unknown cemeteries!

--Glory to the free-born people of Afghanistan.

--Long live our independent revolutionary country, beloved Afghanistan.

--Honour to the Loya Jirgah of the noble working people of Afghanistan.

--Long live the country, people and revolution!

People's Will Mobilized

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 27 Apr 85 pp 2, 4

[Concluding speech by Babrak Karmal at Loya Jirgah; date not specified]

[Text] Respected deputies to the Loya Jirgah of the People of Afghanistan, Esteemed Guests, Dear Compatriots,

The fervent revolutionary movement has come when we are at the successful end of the work of one of the great political events of the recent years of our country's history.

The Loya Jirgah of the trustworthy representatives of the people of Afghanistan all-sidedly discussed and evaluated the fundamental, vital and decisive-for-destiny problems of great national-historical importance. Permit me to express with confidence and pride that the decisions of the present Loya Jirgah shall go down in the history of our prideful country as a great event, and our future generations shall remember it with pride and exaltation.

These days the Loya Jirgah, representing all the working people of Afghanistan, all the nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups inhabiting our country, after allround and profound deliberations in a free, democratic, brotherly atmosphere and in a spirit of patriotism in line with the ancient popular tradition of the Afghan Jirgahs took with responsibility historic decisions of fundamental significance. In this Loya Jirgah the most serious problems of historical importance of the present stage of the life of Afghan society and the important issues related to the region and world became the subject of discussions and comprehensive exchange of views. In this Loya Jirgah, stress was laid on the basic, urgent and indispensable need of the moment, i.e., on the rallying and mobilization of all the forces and possibilities of the party, state and people of the country towards combatting and rebuffing the foreign aggression and interference and terminating the undeclared war imposed by imperialism, reaction and hegemonism against our revolutionary and heroic country, against the sovereignty of the Afghan people, preventing the fratricide of Afghan by Afghan which is being provoked by the enemies of Afghans, and ensuring of lasting peace and security in the country, and completely routing out the counter-revolutionary bands.

The domestic and external policies of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan were fully analysed and assessed and the future course of action concerning these spheres in the context of the building of a new and prosperous Afghan society became more clear than before. It can be said with clarity, confidence and pride that the representatives of the people of Afghanistan held an assembly in the form of present Loya Jirgah with supreme sense of patriotic responsibility, awakening, full cognition and clear differentiation between their friends and foes and made decisions with fervent love of and faith in the country of their forefathers.

The present Loya Jirgah was convened in the circumstances when the history of our country is passing through a sensitive stage of the process of revolution. The enemies of the people of Afghanistan are escalating the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The continual aggression of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction against the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country and against our revolution and peace-loving people has been accentuated. That is why the defence of the motherland and revolutionary gains, and ensuring greater unity of action and harmonization of the activities of the party, state and people against counter-revolution constitute the basic duty of the present time. We must emphasize that the internal and external enemies of the DRA imposed an undeclared war on the Afghan people and the external interventionists confronted the peaceful process of social and revolutionary transformation of our country with armed counter-revolution exported from abroad.

The present Loya Jirgah convened democratically in accordance with the custom of our free-born fathers in full conformity with the injunctions of the holy religion of Islam and our established national-traditional canons enjoys great historical importance and is in the focus of attention of our people and the world public.

Let me, on behalf of the PDPA Central Committee, Revolutionary Council and Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, express my deepest thanks and gratitude for the support extended by you, respected deputies to the Loya Jirgah of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, to the policy of our party and revolutionary state.

Respected deputies,

The work of this Loya Jirgah is coming to an end. We regard the decisions of the present Loya Jirgah the manifestation of the real will of the noble and working people of Afghanistan. Imbued with national patriotic and revolutionary pride we hereby declare that the valiant people of Afghanistan are marching ahead as a monolithic whole towards the bright future and that no power can shatter the unity of party, state and people--the citadel and basis of the invincibility of our revolution. The decisions of the Loya Jirgah vindicate this fact. The revolutionary party and state consider themselves duty-bound to execute the decisions of this historic Loya Jirgah with honesty, self-sacrifice and loyalty to the interests of the people and country.

Esteemed deputies,

The historic decisions of the present Loya Jirgah are convincing demonstration of the righteousness of our cause and correctness of the path being traversed by our country towards the construction of a new, prosperous and happy society. Let us see what results have been achieved from the 3-day long deliberations of the Loya Jirgah as the supreme decision-taking body of the people of Afghanistan:

1. Loya Jirgah categorically proclaimed that the PDPA is the leading and guiding forces of the society and state of Afghanistan. Only the PDPA is capable of leading the revolutionary struggle of the Afghan people for peace and freedom, consolidation of national independence and real democracy, progress, advancement and development of the country with a sense of responsibility and full energy. Its policies enjoy the support and confidence of the masses of the people.

Our people see in the PDPA--the vanguard of the working class and all the working people of Afghanistan--the staunch defender of the supreme interests of the country, independence and national sovereignty, territorial integrity and national honour, a party which is the real servant of the people; the party of the patriotic Afghan soldiers, the party which is the custodian of interests of all nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups of the country; the party of real internationalists; the party of revolutionary ideas and practice and spokesman of great and advanced ideals of the best, conscious and working sons of the country.

We assure you, noble representatives of the people of Afghanistan, that the PDPA, like in the past, shall stand in the first rank of the holy struggle for the defence of the interests of the country, people and revolution and shall march ahead in close, unbreakable and firm bond with the people.

2. The Loya Jirgah affirmed that the triumphant April Revolution and its new evolutionary stage are the lawful result of the long struggles of the masses of our working people against the past oppressive social relations and for the implementation of their supreme aspirations of ending the historical backwardness and ensuring allround social progress and development. The April Revolution put an end in Afghanistan to the rule of the oppressing feudals, exploiting rulers, usurers, reactionaries and local despots who lived for years at the expense of the grief and destitution of the people. The revolution turned the people of Afghanistan into real owners of the country and for the first time in history of the country laid the foundation of a national, independent and democratic state, the new-type state of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The objectives of the national democratic April Revolution and the home and foreign policies of the state of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which are based on the principles of national independence and freedom, real democracy, social justice, equality, brotherhood and allround social development, defence of peace and progress, accord with the historical will of the people and imperatives of our epoch, and reflect the interests and demands

of the absolute majority of our working people, including workers, peasants, national and progressive intellectuals, professionals and artisans, national bourgeoisie, patriotic ulemas and clergy, nomads and all the democratic and patriotic forces of our nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups. The ensuring of prosperity, raising of living standards of the people is possible through implementation of supreme aspirations of the April Revolution and its new stage. The implementation of the said goals of our party and revolutionary state constitute the actual pillar of transition from historical backwardness to allround social development.

We declare emphatically that the prideful way opened by April Revolution for our people and which you, the worthy representatives of the people of Afghanistan, have confirmed, would be followed by us with consistency and seriousness, self-sacrifice and sincerity, principledness and irreconcilability with the enemies of the people and country.

3. The Loya Jirgah emphasized that the regional reaction, world imperialism led by criminal US imperialism, and Chinese hegemonism have openly interfered in the internal affairs of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan by unleashing an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and by training, arming, equipping and exporting the armed counter-revolution into the territory of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and have been committing overt aggression against our independent and sovereign country thus trampling underfoot international laws and norms.

The counter-revolution acts as fighting mercenaries of reaction and imperialism against our country and people. The counter-revolutionary bandits doing away with Afghan sense of honour and dignity and violating the commands of the holy religion of Islam, are serving as the means and instrument of aggressive policy of the enemies of our country and people and are the cause of death and destruction. Therefore, the Loya Jirgah took a decision to the effect that the absolute and complete annihilation of armed counter-revolution and combatting and rebuffing the foreign aggression are the sacred national and patriotic duty of the people of Afghanistan. The achievement of nation-wide peace and ensuring security and tranquillity in the country depend, first and foremost, on the routing of the criminal counter-revolutionary bands and the mercenaries exported from abroad.

The DRA in accordance with the will of the Afghan people which was widely reflected in this Loya Jirgah, considers the intensification of the struggle against counter-revolution its immutable duty. It is high time that those who had been deceived and misled, return by making use of the Decree of General Amnesty of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA which is still in force, in the kind embrace of the country and state, to their hearths and homes and restart the peaceful and noble life.

4. It was stressed in the Loya Jirgah that under the conditions when the undeclared war against the DRA assumes greater dimensions and the intervention and aggression of imperialism against our country intensifies, when the frontiers of our country are repeatedly subjected to aggression and the enemies devise new schemes against our people and country, security of the

DRA and the supreme interests of country, revolution and people dictate that the question of strengthening armed forces of the country, enhancing their combat capability and completing their ranks, of taking urgent and serious measures for safeguarding, defending and sealing the frontiers of the DRA with Pakistan and Iran, being a decision of great, vital and historical importance, should become the cause of the whole party, state and people.

Defence of revolution, joining the ranks of the armed forces of the DRA and the intensification of struggle against counter-revolution are the sacred national and patriotic duty of every citizen of the DRA.

We will respond to this important decision of Loya Jirgah by ever further consolidation of the armed forces of the DRA, expansion of ranks of the large units of civil defence and by implementing measures for defending effectively the borders of the DRA with Pakistan and Iran. In this great national task, serious attention will be paid to the drawing of the valorous and brotherly Pashtun tribes who during the course of history have defended the borders of their ancestral land against the foreign colonialist aggressors coming from the south and east of the Afghan land.

5. The Loya Jirgah proclaimed that the foreign policy of the State of the DRA which will be followed ever more persistently is based upon the objectives and principles of defence of the territorial integrity, national sovereignty, independence, struggle for consolidation of peace in the world, for preventing a new catastrophic world war, loyalty to the non-aligned movement, struggle for detente, peaceful coexistence, revolutionary international solidarity, growth and expansion of fraternal, friendly traditional and historic relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist and progressive countries, support the world working class movement, the national liberation movements, struggle against imperialism, hegemonism, racism, Zionism, apartheid, colonialism and neo-colonialism, respect and serious observance of the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, friendship with the peoples and the strengthening and development of mutually beneficial relations based upon friendship and cooperation with brotherly Muslim countries and peoples and the struggle for peace and progress and the solution of unresolved problems in the relations with the neighbouring countries in the region in a friendly and peaceful atmosphere, on the basis of common sense, realism, goodwill and constructive and mutually beneficial negotiations which fully accord with our historical and national interests. The state of the DRA would ever more resolutely pursue this principled policy which ensures the consolidation of our positions and raises the international prestige and credibility of the nation, the policy which has been approved by this Loya Jirgah.

6. The Loya Jirgah characterised the friendly, fraternal and traditional Afghan-Soviet relations as emanating from the firm historical will of the people of Afghanistan and as an important factor in safeguarding independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nation of proud Afghans. The Soviet Union with its great and all-sided political, economic, technical and cultural assistance has taken a great part in strengthening the national independence and progress of our country as well

as strengthening the foundations of the national economy of the DRA. The Soviet State has been from its very inception true and loyal friend of the people of Afghanistan. The Afghan-Soviet relations which rose to a new qualitative stage with the victory of the April Revolution are becoming stronger with each day. The great assistance of the Soviet Union to the DRA has played a significant role in the progress and blossoming of the country. Especially her military assistance to the people of Afghanistan for repulsing the foreign aggression against the DRA fully accords with the spirit of traditional friendship between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union and our national interests. The further strengthening, deepening and expanding of fraternal relations with the Soviet Union stems from the real will of the Afghan people. The growth of the relations of the DRA with the Soviet Union and other socialist and progressive countries is a great help to the struggle of the Afghan people for safeguarding independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan.

Allow me to assure you, responsible representatives of the people of Afghanistan that we would maintain the friendly and fraternal relations with the Soviet Union for ever with sincerity and gratitude.

**Esteemed Representatives!**

The historical and destiny making decisions of the Loya Jirgah of the representatives of Afghanistan are a powerful confirmation of the truthfulness of our party and revolution which led the struggle of our people from the arduous path of life and directs it onto a path leading to the final victory. The PDPA declares with firm conviction once again that it would never hide any difficulty and national problem from Afghan people. In case it makes a mistake, it would openly make a self-criticism and rectify the mistakes and will always be prepared to work, struggle and give sacrifices for the cause of serving the people and the country.

The historical decisions of this Loya Jirgah showed that the Afghan people are a free-born, peaceful people who stand for justice and progress. Similarly these decisions prove that our people as being mature, conscious, revolutionary and heroic are able to take bold and brave decisions as a united and monolithic entity, on the most important problems facing our history and our society and are also able to recognise their internal and external friends and enemies.

Now our brave working people have risen up. Any interventionist, aggressive, oppressive, exploitative, colonialist and reactionary force, any imperialist and hegemonist force has no longer the power to withstand our people.

We are confident that the future generations would proudly remember this Loya Jirgah.

A bright and prosperous future lies before us and the sons of our homeland. Our liberatory revolution and the unity of our people are the guarantor of the materialisation of this justful desire.

Let the party, State and our heroic people all united and homogenous like tempered steel make the determinant decisions of this Loya Jirgah as the guideline of their militant life and struggle.

--Peace and security for people, freedom and prosperity for people are our ardent and sacred aspirations.

--Long live our homeland, the beautiful, prideful and historic Afghanistan!

--Forward towards the final goals of the revolution!

--We will build our homeland!

--Long live the PDPA!

--Long live the State of the DRA!

--May the unity of Party, State and the people become eternal!

--Let the flag of our fatherland, free, independent, new and revolutionary Afghanistan flutter for ever!

CSO: 4600/466

AFGHANISTAN

**LOYA JIRGAH REPRESENTATIVES HOLD SECOND SESSION**

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 25 Apr 85 pp 1-4

[Text] Kabul (BIA)--The Loya Jirgah (grand assembly) of the people of Afghanistan continued in session for the second day yesterday.

The elected representatives of the Afghan people speaking in the morning and afternoon sessions expressed their all-round endorsement of the comprehensive assessment of the present situation in and around Afghanistan made by the beloved leader of working people Babrak Karmal in the inaugural session of the Loya Jirgah. They also declared their full support to the measures taken by the revolutionary party and state for upholding the honour of the people and blossoming of our beloved homeland.

The second day's session of the Loya Jirgah, held in the hall of the Kabul Polytechnic Institute, was attended by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, Abdul Rahim Hatif, Chairman of the Loya Jirgah, members of the Politburo and Secretariat of the PDPA CC, members of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council, members of the PDPA CC, members of the Council of Ministers, members of the Supreme Court, some members of social organisations of the DRA, ambassadors and charge d'affaires of friendly countries to the DRA.

**Morning Session**

The session of Loya Jirgah began at 9:30 a.m. Abdul Rahim Hatif asked the elected representatives to deliver their speeches in a free and democratic atmosphere.

In the morning session which lasted till 1 p.m. people's representatives from Logar, Helmand, Badakhshan, Paktika, Herat, Zabul, Kandahar, Parwan, Farah, Bamian, Wardak, Nimroz, Badghis and Ghazni provinces delivered their speeches and expressed their views on the concerned issues in a free and democratic atmosphere.

The first speaker of the session was Stanikzai, a deputy of the working people of Logar province. He said: "The people in Logar fully support the sealing of borders with Pakistan and Iran from where mercenary groups are exported to our beloved homeland for carrying out blood-shed, killings and ruination".

Stanikzai added: "We regard as fully correct Babrak Karmal's words to the effect that the Afghan people have the right to determine their friend and foe in the world. We say that we accept the hand of friendship of every country extended to us with honesty. The Soviet Union has passed this test in the course of the past over 60 years. We consider the Soviet Union as the genuine and honest friend in our days of difficulty".

Then, Haji Abdul Hashid, the people's representative from Helmand province, and a nomad himself said: "We firmly believe that the policy of the PDPA and the DRA State originates from the historical aspirations of all working people, of nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups of the country, and conforms to the interests of the peoples of the region and the whole humankind".

He said: "The people and the nomads decisively support the patriotic measures of their revolutionary party and state, and are fully assured that the closing of borders would not prevent traditional migration of nomads. However it would help ending fratricide, bloodshed, terror and killings, and blocking the path of the caravans of weapons and trained mercenaries of reaction and imperialism into Afghanistan".

Afterwards, Abdul Ghias, a representative from Badakhshan province, delivering his speech, said: "Our province has 950 kilometre long common borders with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. These borders have been the borders of friendship and fraternity in the years after the victory of the Socialist October Revolution. The working people of our province have always benefitted from the friendly and disinterested assistance of the friendly country Soviet Union through this border of friendship. The border trade which meets the demands of our people for primary goods to a great extent, in itself, is the manifestation and good example of this disinterested friendship".

Akbarjan Waziri, a deputy from Paktika province, said: "On behalf of the working people of Paktika, I express my full support to the main speech of our beloved leader Babrak Karmal, and assure you that we would manly defend our homeland, people and borders. This is the path of honour and pride of our people. Let those who fear to tread on the glorious path of the revolution, the party and the state, to remain in eternal humility".

Rasoul Fakor from Herat province said: "The expansion of intrigues and the dimension of the undeclared war against our revolutionary country are indicative of the fact that our enemies want to re-impose the black medieval regime on our people, and to make Afghans kill Afghans. The treacherous role of the Pakistani and Iranian regimes in this war imposed on our people, is unforgiveable. We, the people of Herat, believe that these black deeds of Pakistani and Iranian rulers are nothing but manifestations of their explicit enmity with the Moslem people of Afghanistan and their collusion with the US imperialism, this big Satan of our time. But, our people will not surrender to their intention. In the course of five years after the victory of the new and evolutionary phase, we have realised through our own experience that the domestic and foreign policy of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan

and the State of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is in accord with the historical aspirations of our people. Our revolutionary party and state are the true protector of the national interests, customs, traditions and honour of the Afghan people".

The representative of Herat was followed by the people's deputy from Zabul province Ghulam Naqshband. He said: "The tribes and ethnic groups and the whole working people of Zabul province want the convocation of this Loya Jirgah to be a factor of tranquillity and development of the homeland and the consolidation of the April Revolution, and therefore, support it.

"This would be a Loya Jirgah which will unite the tribes and ethnic groups, play an important role in safeguarding the borders of the country, and will not allow the enemies of our homeland to disturb the life of our people".

Then, Haji Asmatullah Moslem, a militia commander from Kandahar, took the rostrum. He said: "You may ponder as to how and why, I, Engineer Asmatullah Moslem, the general commander of the Fedayan of Islam whose deeds against the revolution were broadcast and published through radios and dailies to the world peoples by US and European cut-throats have come here to support the revolution and the people in this revolutionary Afghan society".

He said: "Although I was not a party member at the beginning of the revolution, but I had an immense love for the homeland. The April Revolution aroused enthusiasm in me. I wished I had been a revolutionary and a friend with these militants. However, after few months the perfidious Amin's band emerged on the scene. I saw that he started abusing the name of the revolution to make encroachments on the traditions, sanctities, religion, and honour of the people, started. Many elders, clergymen and religious scholars of Kandahar and other provinces, who had even been the supporters of the revolutionary transformations, were killed by this black band without any trials and court verdicts. They were killed in such a way that one could not even know where their graves were. During this time most of my family members were put behind bars. Of them my brother and sister were martyred. The Amin band issued a death sentence on me in my absence. That is why I fled away and resolved to carry out subversion and sabotage just to take revenge."

Haji Asmatullah added: "After the new and evolutionary phase of the April Revolution I fell prey to the plots of American intelligence and Pakistani reaction.

"These enemies resorted to groundless and venomous propaganda against the legal state of Afghanistan in tribal regions, and created confusion in our minds as regards the realities. At that time I was living in Quetta city. I would confess before you, respected elders, that I used the armed groups of my tribe in Kandahar to confront the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The war and subversion committed by me in Afghanistan made Zia-ul-Haq regime, the spies of Reagan as well as the Arab reaction very happy."

Moslem added: "At the behest of Reagan Administration and CIA, General Zia and his aiders used to hold discussions regularly with the ringleaders of the counter-revolution. They wanted to know the opinion and attitude of the counter-revolutionary ringleaders. Later the American advisors used to start their work with those counter-revolutionary ringleaders. General Zia and his assistants held discussions with me too for several times. During these meetings I realised their ominous will. They want to dismember Afghanistan. They asked me to form a new state like the provinces of Pakistan in Kandahar, Orogan, Helmand and Zabul, and to take over its control declaring myself the governor, chief or military ruler. In that case the USA would start its all-sided assistance to us."

He further added: "For many a time in Peshawar, Islamabad, Quetta and other cities I realised from the way the American advisors talked that their main aim is to divide and disintegrate Afghanistan. It came clear for me that it is the same old designs and plans of Britons against Afghanistan, this time being materialized by General Zia-ul-Haq under the mask of Islam on the basis of the will of the USA. And hegemonist China fans up this fire of imperialism in its own interests."

Haji Asmatullah added: "I should conscientiously and manly confess that in the new and evolutionary phase of the April Revolution, I became remorseful and repentant towards my political affiliation and armed counter-revolutionary doing. I would like to say on this great historical day before the representatives of the people of the DRA that I could not tolerate to be a witness to the plan of integration of my ancestral land, and the work with those black forces who have resolved to dismember prideful, free and independent Afghanistan. At that time, I decided to separate my path from the one chosen by the counter-revolution. I resolved to return to the embrace of motherland and to dedicate the rest of my life to serving the revolution and the people."

He further said: "Esteemed elders and representatives, during the time when I was in Pakistan, I recognized well Gulbuddin, Rahbani, Khalis, Saif, Sabghatullah, Gailani and all other Mollahs and followers of Britain. I came to understand that they are the obedient servants and spies of the USA and Zia-ul-Haq, and strive for the destruction and disintegration of Afghanistan.

"Zia-ul-Haq and his generals, who have been trained in Britain, are busy working for the destruction of Afghanistan. They act as the brokers of English-like Arab Sheikhs, suppress, imprison and subject to torture the working Moslems of Pakistan using the hypocritical veil of the rule of Mustafa."

He added: "Esteemed audience, I am grateful for the opportunity given to me to reveal before the real representatives of Afghanistan on the basis of the objective experience of my life the plots and intrigues of international reaction headed by the US imperialism, against the revolutionary Afghanistan and our valiant people, carried out through the military regime of Zia-ul-Haq.

"I have decided on my own that in order to compensate my past deeds and to neutralise the new and old intrigues of imperialist plots, I would fight alongside the patriots of the revolutionary Afghanistan till the end. I would use the weapons which I have received from the USA, China, Arab reactionaries and Pakistan against them and give them a deserving lesson."

Haji Asmatullah added: "I believe that the deceived Afghan fugitives will also follow this noble path which I have chosen for myself. I am fully convinced that the state of the DRA would provide every possibility for me and every other Afghan who returns from the clutches of enemy, and join the ranks of the revolution to render honest service to the people."

The elected representative of Parwan province Ghulam Bahauddin, delivering his speech, said that this Loya Jirgah was held in conformity with the favourite national traditions of our beloved country.

Later, Noor Ahmad Azizi, the people's representative from Farah province, said: "We decisively support every measure of our DRA state and every revolutionary action which is aimed at ensuring prosperity, dignity and tranquillity of our Moslem working people. It has been proved to us with every passing day that the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the state of the DRA led by esteemed Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, are at the service of the people and work for the progress of the country."

Shaikh Azimuddin Ahmadi, a deputy from Bamian province, stated: "Representing the working people of Hazara, I would like to declare with loud voice and assure sincerely respected Babrak Karmal, that we have fully supported and support our revolutionary party and state. We are for the building of new Afghanistan, the struggle against the counter-revolution and its imperialist supporters. We not only condemn the intervention of imperialism and its allies into the internal affairs of our country, but warn the reactionary circles of Iran, reaction of Pakistan and their imperialist masters headed by the USA to stop fratricide in our free and independent homeland. We would say to them: Let the Afghan people build a prosperous and happy life under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity. We warn the reactionary rulers of Iran to give up their provocations and escalation of religious discord among our people."

"The counter-revolutionary bands and their imperialist masters as we have witnessed and deeply realised, have spared no crime vis-a-vis the innocent children, women and old men of our country," stated Ghulam Nabi, a representative from Wardak province.

He added: "The counter-revolutionary bands, these messengers of ignorance and death, ordered by their American, British and Chinese masters, disturb the peaceful life of our people and plunder the public property.

"The working people of Afghanistan are not alone in their righteous struggle. But all working people and progressive and peace-loving forces of the world

headed by the great Soviet Union, this historical friend of the Afghan people, are with us. The enemies of Afghanistan should know that their defeat is inevitable."

Later, the Loya Jirgah was addressed by the people's deputy Abdul Rawouf from Nimroz province. He said: "Currently many people in Nimroz province are defending their homeland, revolution and the borders of the country with bravery and heroism. They rebuff the aggressions of the reactionary regime of Iran on our soil according to the will of the USA and Britain. We proclaim to the regimes of Iran and Pakistan: If you continue to inflame the undeclared war in our revolutionary country, you yourself would burn in it."

Malok, an elected representative of the people of Badghis province, said: "Esteemed representatives, you know well that our people yearn for peace and security. The maintenance of peace and defence of the country is not something depending only on the state. Every Afghan individual wherever he might be, should take part in this patriotic task.

"Representing the people of Badghis, I would like to declare that we would fight till the end for implementing this human and noble cause, that is to say, the ensuring of universal peace and building of a new and just society in the revolutionary Afghanistan. We have faith in our righteous cause and victory. Future is ours."

The last speaker of the morning session of the Loya Jirgah was Abdul Wahid Andiwal, a deputy from the Laghman province. Andiwal said:

"In my opinion the basic tasks lying before us under the present conditions are the ensuring of universal peace, prevention of the killing of an Afghan by an Afghan, and complete annihilation of the counter-revolutionary bands who masquerade as defenders of Islam but have sold their souls to the enemies of Islam and who are sent to our country for subversion, fratricide and plunder. Our Afghan bravery and pride orders us to decisively suppress these mercenaries and servants of dollars and pounds."

#### Afternoon Session

The elected representatives of Ghor, Kunduz, Takhar, Samangan, Ghazni, Faryab, Baghlan, Oruzgan and Kapisa provinces as well as representative of the women of Kabul city made speeches in yesterday's afternoon session of the Loya Jirgah (grand assembly) of the DRA held at 3 p.m.

Abdul Jabar Khadem, representative of the Ghor province, in a part of his speech said: "The victory of the April Revolution and its new and evolutionary phase ushered in our country in a new historical stage and our people did away forever with the past full of sorrows and deprivations."

Abdul Jabar Khadem added: "Representing the working people of the Ghor province I resolutely declare to imperialist countries led by the bloody US imperialism that our free and zealous people well recognize their old enemy and condemn their frenzied interference in our country. I declare it loud

and clear that the plots of the enemy are doomed in revolutionary Afghanistan. The wheel of the history can not be turned back."

Another speaker Hamid Dehghan, commander of the group of defenders of revolution of Kunduz province, said: "I, myself was deceived by the enemies and led a big group of the counter-revolution for a long time. I well know what calamities and destructions the counter-revolutionary gangs have brought to our people. Upon realising the truth of the revolution and futility of my path, I availed the amnesty decree and joined the ranks of the defenders of revolution.

"Now I have taken up position in the battle field of defence of revolution in one of the villages of Khan Abad district in Kunduz province and fight for the extermination of the counter-revolution and for maintaining peace and security for people. I would continue to do so till the last drop of my blood and final victory of the revolution. Not only me but most of those deceived by the enemies have now understood this fact. The process of surrendering of armed bands to the state and the common yearning for ensuring peace and security is taking deep root."

Ghulam Ali Hasib, the elected representative of the people of Takhar province, said: "No power in the world is and would ever be able to prevent us from following our chosen path. The April Revolution is victorious and the enemies of the revolutionary Afghanistan are doomed to defeat."

Shujauddin Sharifi, the authorised representative of Samangan province, said: "The policy of the PDPA and the state of the DRA in regard with the sacred religion of Islam is based on its deep respect, observance and real protection. We all have experienced and witnessed this fact in our life, deeply perceived it and are fully convinced that whatever the party and our revolutionary state say particularly about the religion is put into practice as well.

"For instance, tens of mosques have been repaired, whitewashed and newly built only in our province after the new phase of the revolution. Material and moral assistance has been given to religious scholars and clergymen. The esteemed religious scholars and clergymen have never in the history of our country been so much respected by the state. The establishment of the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Religious Trusts of the DRA can be cited as a vivid example in this respect. But the enemies of our people, and free and prideful homeland supported by the Pakistani militarists, reactionaries of Iran, US and British imperialism undermine the desire of our people for progress, justice and equality which is the demand of all our Muslim working people. They even barter away national sanctities, Afghan pride and Islam."

Sayed Ghulam Raza Najafizada, the representative of the people of Ghazni province to Loya Jirgah, in his speech said: "The people of Ghazni province including Tajik, Hazara, Pashtun, and others have suffered plenty of religious, tribal, linguistics and socio-economic deprivations prior to the April Revolution. The life of our people as a whole in that era was lamentable. The outcome of the toil of the working people of our province

in one way or another went to the oppressive land lords. A kind of fear and horror was looming large over all spheres of our life.

"Thanks to the April Revolution an end was put to all forms of oppressions and for the first time in the history of our beloved homeland the feeling of freedom, and the feeling of dignity in our proud people was revived.

"I honestly promise in this grand jirgah, which is the manifestation of the concentration and unity of thoughts of all classes and strata of our people that we would not retreat from the path of the PDPA and the state of the DRA. We treat Afghan-Soviet friendship as an exemplary friendship and express gratitude for the timely assistance of that friendly country."

Abdul Ahad Wolosi, a representative of the people of Fariab province, highlighting the cultural policy of the DRA state, said in part of his speech: "The Revolution paved grounds for all-round development of our people. Radio Afghanistan, now broadcasts programmes in Uzbek and Turkman languages. The periodical "Ulduz" is published in the Uzbek language.

"Schools have been set up in which lessons are taught in the mother tongues and a department of Uzbek and Turkman languages has also been established in the framework of Kabul University. All these are the manifestation of attention paid by the PDPA and the DRA towards the fraternal nationalities."

He added: "Loud from the rostrum of this grand national Loya Jirgah, we invite all our deceived compatriots, wherever they might be to end fratricide, lay down their arms and return to the folds of motherland so that we can unitedly build our beloved country."

Mawlawi Sadiq, preacher of the Pulikhomri Congregational Mosque and elected representative of Baghlan province, during his speech said: "One of the manly characteristics of the Afghan people is that they never forget the assistance, cooperation and favour of anyone. This tradition has been inherited from our forefathers and ancestors. Therefore, the present generation and the posterity of our country do not and will not forget the assistances of the Soviet Union at this sensitive moment of our history."

Abdul Mohammad Popal, the elected representative of people of Urozgan province, in part of his speech said: "We have full confidence in the speech of Babrak Karmal that in the near future a society would come into being in our country wherein every Afghan would lead a peaceful life and have full confidence and hope in the future.

"We consider all the endeavours of the enemies of the Revolution doomed to failure and will never allow any destructive force to ruin our home, that is beloved Afghanistan."

Abdullah, the elected representative of people of Kapisa province, said: "The secret of victory for strengthening and stabilizing situation and ensuring peaceful conditions in favour of the working people and warding off the treacherous interventions of imperialism and reactionary regimes of

the region, led by bloody US imperialism, lies in the unity of all fraternal nationalities and tribes of the country under the leadership of the PDPA. This grand assembly is the manifestation of the unity and solidarity of the people of our country."

Shafiqa Saraj, sister of King Amanullah Khan Ghazi and Deputy of former Women's Association, representing the women of Kabul city, expressed absolute support to the instructive speech of Babrak Karmal. She said:

"Prior to the April Revolution, women of Afghanistan were living under the most difficult and painful conditions. Women were subjected to various kinds of social and class oppression.

"Superstitions, old and backward ideas of patriarchal feudal system were the main obstacles in the development of women's talents. The monarchical, aristocratic, bureaucratic and feudal regimes did not take any step for the realization of women's rights in the society. All women were confined to their households.

"The victory of the April Revolution paved real grounds for ensuring equal rights with men in all economic, social, political, cultural and legal spheres and provided objective opportunities for the participation of women in all social activities.

"But the armed counter-revolutionaries, who represent the most reactionary and obscurantist ideas, try to encroach upon women's rights and liberties and once again take them back to the lamentable medieval conditions. The counter-revolutionaries have proved their enmity against the revolution by killing students, teachers, preventing women from education, forcing compulsory marriages, making common the sale and purchase of women and so on.

"The counter-revolution in order to show that they are staunch Moslem and acquire a so-called base among people spare no oppressions and encroachments on the rights of women. Through such deeds, the counter-revolutionaries have exposed their black faces to people of Afghanistan as well as the world and have displayed themselves as the enemy of liberty and prosperity of people, particularly the women of the country."

The afternoon session of yesterday ended at around 5:30 p.m.

CSO: 4600/465

AFGHANISTAN

LOYA JIRGAH PRESENTS RESOLUTION

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 27 Apr 85 pp 1, 3-4

[Text] The Resolution of the Loya Jirgah dated April 25:

The grand historical Loya Jirgah of the representatives of the people of Afghanistan which was held from April 23, 1985 to April 25, 1985, in Kabul as a representative forum of the whole people of Afghanistan and convened on the basis of the favourite Islamic tradition of consultation and the glorious Afghan custom of Jirgahs for taking decision on fundamental problems of ensuring peace and security in the country, defence of the country against the aggression and interference of the enemies, strengthening independence and preserving the territorial integrity of the country as also for expressing opinion about the home and foreign policy of the DRA, as a forum, which discussed all the basic and pressing questions of our social life in a free and democratic atmosphere of Islamic and Afghan fraternity in a truthful, frank and responsible manner proclaims that:

--The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, while being loyal to the country and serving the people, leads the country towards peace, freedom, democracy, progress and social justice, brotherhood and equality and prosperity of the people as well as towards complete elimination of tyranny and injustice in building a new prosperous and proud Afghanistan, is the leading and directing force of the society and State of Afghanistan.

--The State of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which was established on the basis of the potential and real will of the people of Afghanistan as a result of the April Revolution is a national, independent, democratic, free and sovereign State of Afghanistan which under the wise guidance of esteemed Babrak Karmal, outstanding national personality, and recognized, worthy and rightful leader of the people of Afghanistan, symbolises the national sovereignty of the people of Afghanistan. The State of the DRA safeguards the independence and the territorial integrity of the country and defends the soil of the homeland against the external aggression.

The State of the DRA wants to ensure peace and tranquillity for the people on the basis of the Fundamental Principles of the DRA and ensures a peaceful and tranquil life, all-sided development of all individuals of the society, preservation of the rights to property, institution of family as well as the national traditions and customs of the people of Afghanistan.

The Loya Jirgah fully endorses the main speech of respected Babrak Karmal which dealt with the basic, pressing, vital and decisive-for-destiny problems of our society and after discussing the policy course of the State of the DRA and the present stage of affairs in the country adopted the following decisions:

(1) The home and foreign policies of the Government of the DRA formulated after the victory of the April Revolution and its new evolutionary phase and reflected in the Fundamental Lines of the Revolutionary Tasks of the DRA, the Programme of Action of the PDPA, the Fundamental Principles of the DRA, decrees of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA and other authoritative documents of the Party and the State are hereby endorsed and approved. The main directions of these policies are as follows:

In the sphere of the domestic policy:

The complete eradication of the remnants of backwardness and oppressive social relations of the past, the ensuring of the participation of the people in the solution of the basic socio-political problems of the country on the basis of the principles of genuine democracy; the completing of the implementation of the Land and Water Reforms in the interest of the peasants and with their participation with due consideration of the traditions, customs and national-historical characteristics of the Afghan people; the development of national industries and raising the level of the national economy; upgrading of the level of material and cultural life of the people; the ensuring of equality of rights and creation of conditions conducive for ever further solidarity of brotherly nationalities inhabiting the country; the development of the national cultures of the peoples of Afghanistan; the strengthening of the defence might of the country and preservation, observance and respect for the sacred religion of Islam as well as the customs and traditions of the people.

In the sphere of the foreign policy:

The pursuance of a policy based on the principles of peace and peaceful co-existence, militant revolutionary solidarity with all liberation movements, non-alignment, expansion and development of traditional and brotherly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist and progressive countries, solidarity with all the peoples of the world, especially the Muslim peoples, for the cause of peace, elimination of international tensions, disarmament, prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and their elimination, struggle against war-mongering forces, neo-colonialism, imperialism, hegemonism, racism, Zionism, apartheid and ensuring friendship with all the peoples of the world for the sake of peace, freedom and independence, progress and deep respect and observance of the UN Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Loya Jirgah endorses the policy of the State of the DRA, as regards the political solution of the issues around Afghanistan on the basis of the constructive proposals of the Government of DRA dated May 14, 1980, and August 24, 1981. Proceeding from the will of the people of Afghanistan the Loya Jirgah asks the Governments of Pakistan and Iran to give a positive response to these proposals displaying common

sense and keeping in view the mutual interests, to end their interference in the internal affairs of the DRA and take part in ensuring peace and security in the region, through holding direct talks with the Government of the DRA.

(2) The enemies of the people of Afghanistan, i.e., US imperialism, Chinese hegemonism and other predatory Western powers, the reactionary government of Iran and militarist regimes of Pakistan and Arab reaction have launched an undeclared war against our people and revolution and using counter-revolutionary bandits. They are financing, arming and training the counter-revolutionary bandits and sending them into our country for committing murder, plunder and sabotage.

The treacherous US imperialism and Chinese hegemonism using the militarist regime of Zia-ul-Haq are hatching a plan to dismember our united ancestral land and to install a puppet regime subservient to US imperialism, aiming at taking the country back to the dark periods of the past and turn it into a base of aggression against the peoples of the region and the Soviet Union. In such conditions when the country faces the question of to be or not to be and when the survival of Afghanistan as an independent State is concerned, the defence of the country against external aggression, sealing, safeguarding and defending the borders of Afghanistan with Pakistan and Iran constitute the urgent and pressing task of the entire Afghan people. All potentialities and possibilities should be made use of and all measures adopted to achieve this goal. In order to fulfil this task of the people of Afghanistan, especially the brave border tribes, who safeguarded throughout the country's history its independence, against external aggression and safeguarded the borders of the country as their honour and dignity, must rise as a monolithic whole for defending the country, closing its borders on reactionary and imperialist interventionists and aggressors, highway robbers and murderers, bandits exported from abroad, and further consolidate the defence might of the country. Of course, it should not be forgotten that the Party, the State of DRA and the Afghan people are conscious of their national and regional responsibilities towards the problems of the free tribes and their Pashtun and Baluch brethren who are groaning under tyranny and ruthless oppression and feel serious responsibility in this regard, in compliance with the principles of peace, freedom and progress. The undeclared war of imperialism and reaction against our free, independent and sovereign country must be stopped at the earliest and an end be put to intervention and aggression against Afghanistan.

(3) Those deceived persons who have taken up arms due to the provocation of the enemy and are acting against the interests of the country, must realise as soon as possible the futility of their efforts against the country and revolutionary power, lay down their arms and resume a noble and peaceful life. They must know that the revolution of Afghanistan which enjoys the people's support is irreversible.

The Afghans who are leading the life of vagabonds in alien lands and contrary to their wishes have become slaves of the enemy, suffering the atrocities of the leaders of the counter-revolution and reactionary regimes, must return to the folds of the motherland by availing themselves of the General Amnesty

Decree of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA. The State guarantees their immunity and that of their freedom as well as a decent life and work. The reactionary regimes and counter-revolutionary and interventionist forces must stop creating obstacles on the path of those compatriots, who by realising the nature of the counter-revolution and perceiving the realities of our revolutionary country, after having suffered inhuman miseries, desire to return to their homeland. The DRA will adopt necessary measures for their return to the country in line with international laws and norms.

An end should be put, as soon as possible, to the crimes of the counter-revolutionary bandits and they must not be allowed to continue fratricide in our country. The counter-revolution must be uprooted quickly and for ever and peace, brotherhood and overall security must come to prevail in the country, so that necessary conditions for accelerating the construction of a new progressive, advanced and powerful Afghanistan be created.

(4) The Loya Jirgah of the representatives of the people of Afghanistan considers the disinterested and brotherly assistance of the Soviet Union, the historical and traditional friend of the people of Afghanistan in various political, economic and cultural spheres, and especially her selfless assistance in despatching its limited military contingents to our country on the basis of the request of the DRA for helping the Afghan people in repulsing the external aggression, as an important factor in preserving national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our free and independent country. The Loya Jirgah endorses this vital assistance rendered in accordance with the UN Charter and the Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Cooperation dated December 5, 1978 as well as in conformity with the traditions of friendship and solidarity between the two fraternal countries and considers the relations between the two countries in full accord with the national interests of the country and calls for its further expansion.

The Loya Jirgah of the representatives of the people of Afghanistan is convinced that the presence of the limited Soviet military contingents in Afghanistan is a matter concerning solely the two countries, i.e., Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, and, as it has been repeatedly stressed by the Governments of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, this presence is necessary till the complete cessation of aggression and intervention of imperialist and reactionary forces against the DRA. Whenever foreign aggression and intervention against our sacred soil are ceased and reliable international guarantees for their non-recurrence are provided, the limited Soviet military contingents will return to their peaceful country on the basis of an accord between the Afghan and the Soviet sides.

The historical Loya Jirgah of the representatives of the people of Afghanistan calls on all the people of the country to unite under the leadership of the PDPA for building a new Afghan society, a society of prosperity, progress, justice and welfare and for ensuring happiness for their sons and future generations of the country.

The deputies to this traditional Loya Jirgah, who have been elected democratically by the people of Afghanistan and represent the will and wishes of the entire Afghan people in line with their historical responsibility, consider it as their right, duty and authority to call on all strata and classes of the society, sons of all nationalities and tribes, inhabiting our united, independent, proud and revolutionary country, to implement with firmness, boldness and sincerity the decisions of this historical Loya Jirgah in all parts of the country, in all villages, towns, sub-districts, districts and provinces.

Let there be a nation-wide peace.

Let the fratricide and war which the enemies of our country have launched come to an end.

Let our dear Afghanistan become ever more powerful.

We take pride in our revolutionary country, Afghanistan and will make it prosperous.

Victory comes from God.

CSO: 4600/467

AFGHANISTAN

**LOYA JIRGAH CONCLUDES AFTER DELIBERATION**

**Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES** in English 27 Apr 85 p 1

[Text] **Kabul (BIA)**--The Loya Jirgah (grand assembly) of the elected representatives of the people of Afghanistan which deliberated for three consecutive days on vital and pressing issues of country's political and socio-economic life concluded here yesterday.

The issues which came up under discussion at Loya Jirgah included the determination of the future of the nation, ways of ensuring of peace and security in the country, defending the country against the undeclared war of imperialism. The representatives of the people expressed their opinions on home and foreign policies of the PDPA and the DRA state. The sessions of Loya Jirgah were attended by 1796 elected representatives from all the nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups of the homeland and 200 guests.

The concluding session of the Loya Jirgah fully endorsed the main speech of Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, and approved unanimously its historical resolution as well as addressed a message to the People of Afghanistan and a message to the UN Secretary-General, Javier Perez De Cuellar.

The deputies who delivered speeches at the third and concluding session of the Loya Jirgah included:

Dr. Asadullah Habib, Rector of Kabul University; Maulawi Abdullah Nooristani; Satar Purdili, President of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Afghanistan; Abdul Razaq Kargar; Mohammad Ibrahim; Abdul Qayum Besid; Fardaous Khan Momand; Major General Nazar Mohammad, Defence Minister of the DRA; and Feroz Fedai, commander of a group for the defence of revolution.

In his concluding speech at yesterday's session of Loya Jirgah, Babrak Karmal expressed his confidence that the resolution of the present grand Loya Jirgah shall go down in the history of Afghanistan as a great event and that the future generation shall proudly remember this grand event. The session of the Loya Jirgah ended with the playing of the national anthem of the DRA.

According to another report, Babrak Karmal gave a reception yesterday at the headquarters of the Revolutionary Council in honour of the elected representatives of the people.

The guests at the reception also watched a concert of the artists and singers of the Radio-Television of the DRA.

AFGHANISTAN

LOYA JIRGAH REPRESENTATIVES CALL UPON EMIGRES TO RETURN

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 11 May 85 p 4

[Text] The folds of the Afghan homeland are open for all its sons who are wandering in alien soils for one or another reason. The amnesty decreed by the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA is still in force. Those people who were deceived by the enemy can return to their ancestral land and resume a normal life. The state of the DRA provides all necessary working and living facilities for them.

The above was stated by Abdul Razzaq, an activist of the peasant cooperative in Dushi district and representative of the Hazara tribe of that district to Loya Jirgah, in an interview to a KNT reporter.

He added, the life of the emigres in the camps located in Pakistan is miserable due to pitiable state of medical care, lack of sufficient food and so on. They are fed up with such a life. They are desirous to return to their homeland but the military regime of Pakistan impedes their return for achieving its ominous interests. No doubt, the disillusioned Afghans will sooner or later realize their errors and would return to their ancestral homeland.

The Loya Jirgah of the DRA, he went on to say, has passed resolutions on the above issues, which have been made public.

He said that upon their return to their provinces and districts the people's representatives to Loya Jirgah conveyed the resolutions of the Jirgah to their electorate.

Abdul Razzaq, who was a deputy in the 11th term of the former people's assembly, noted that no right was given in the past to deputies and people's representatives to express their views. There was no question of people's interests. The decisions of the governments of that time were forcibly imposed on the deputies. But today, the proposals of the people are conveyed through their representatives to the party and state.

Arbab Mohammad Nasir, an elder of Dehmarda tribe of Sahab village in Tulak district of Ghor Province, who represented his people in historic Loya Jirgah of the country expressed his view as follows:

On our arrival to our villages, we would inform our people of the decisions of the Loya Jirgah. We would tell them about the democratic proceedings of the Loya Jirgah and good way in which the party and state authorities treated the people's representatives. We would urge the people to rally around their party and revolutionary state and do not let the enemy penetrate into their ranks.

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AFGHANISTAN

REFORMS BEING IMPLEMENTED IN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 7 May 85 pp 1-2

[Text] The national movement for the eradication of illiteracy is satisfactorily continuing in the country with the participation of party and state organs and social organisations. Thanks to this universal movement over 1.1 million people have acquired literacy after the Revolution. A large number of the graduates of literacy courses have been admitted to adult schools. At present, over 380,000 people are attending 20,000 literacy courses, taught by 2,150 teachers. The aforementioned figures are indicative of the fact that the Revolution consciously attracts the broad masses to the political and social activities geared towards the further development of the Revolution and the defence of its gains.

For soundly nurturing the new generations the Revolution needs new and contentful educational system. That is why reforms are being implemented in the educational system in the course of post-revolutionary years.

After the Revolution, new democratic educational system was introduced in the country for the first time in the country's history. Gates of schools, universities, institutions of higher and vocational educational have been kept open without any discrimination and privilege, for the children of all working people, nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups. And, for the first time again, in accordance with the Fundamental Principles of the DRA and the 'Programme of Action' of the PDPA, the Ministry of Education was obligated to prepare and compile the new curricula in the languages of different nationalities and tribes of the country.

The universal movement for enrolling the children of working people to schools and education of children of under-school age (in kindergartens, nurseries, etc), is continuing in full swing. For instance, this year as many as 115,000 pupils were enrolled in schools throughout the country that shows an increase of 40 percent comparing to the number of pupils admitted last year.

A large number of schools destroyed by the counter-revolution have been rebuilt or repaired. According to the preset plan, the construction of 35 primary schools and 20 secondary schools will raise the number of school for general education to 1,142 in the course of the current Afghan year, and the total number of pupils schools for general education would reach to 728,486.

The number of students attending higher teachers' training institutions, the Institute of Pedagogy and religious 'Madrasas' (schools) has considerably increased. And, for the first time, seminars aimed at improving the educational process have been convened for the teachers during school vacations.

The Revolution provided vast opportunities for the learning of youth, and the assigned the DYOA to undertake the task of educating and nurturing the youth. Apart from concluding protocols for the joint cooperation with the Ministry of Education, the DYOA has also accomplished a series of other tasks. Thus, it has established cultural centres for youth and teenagers, sports clubs and camps, pioneers' palaces and camps, youth townships, the institute of young cadres of the DYOA, literary associations of the youth and the council of young teachers.

The performance of the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education in-training of professional cadres in different fields in the years after the revolution is of special importance. Currently, around 6,300 students are studying in different fields in 13 faculties of Kabul University.

As many as 568 local and 71 foreign lecturers having Ph.D. Master and BA degrees conduct the teaching in Kabul University.

Night colleges have been established within the framework of Kabul University after the new phase of the April Revolution. At present, over 900 people who had no chance to continue their education are studying in these faculties in the fields of economy, history and literature.

Keeping in mind the proportion of social composition of the students of Kabul University, three educational institutions for workers have also been set up. So far, a total of 300 workers' children have joined these institutions, and the process of admission is continuing.

A military department have been set up in Kabul University for the first time.

Last year equipment of former laboratories were completed in new laboratories in different sciences were established.

In addition to these, convocation of scientific conferences for the lecturers and students in the course of last two years, experimental works, proliferation of teaching programmes, compilation of over 3,000 volumes of books and teaching aid materials, launching of work competitions and establishment of a number of new faculties after the new phase of the Revolution such as the Faculties of Fine Arts, Social Science, geology are considered part of the effective measures of Kabul University.

Furthermore, departments of Plant Protection, Political Economy, New History, Western and Eastern Music are also among the departments created newly in this University.

In general, the work and activity of Kabul University are conducted in a planned manner. The tenth plan of the University has already been endorsed. According to this plan, the teaching subjects would, on the one hand, have progressive content, and on the other, would reach to the international standard.

The State Medical Institute of Kabul, as being the main educational institution of the country, was established on the basis of the former Faculty of Medicine in 1359 HS (1980) for training medical cadres. The institute has in its framework the faculties of curative medicine of Kabul and Nangarhar, the faculty of stomatology, the faculty for upgrading the level of the professional knowledge of lecturers, faculties of social science and the newly established faculty of pediatrics.

As a whole, a total of 296 lecturers are engaged in teaching in this institute. As many as 540 students have been enrolled in this institute. They are studying in different subjects now.

The Kabul Polytechnic Institute, as all are aware, was built with the all-round cooperation of the friendly and fraternal country of the Soviet Union. It ranks high in performing scientific works.

This institute trains technical and professional cadres in different fields, and meets the demands of the country in skilled engineers and technical personnel. Last year, this institute marked its 20th founding anniversary.

One of the most important gains of the Revolution is the establishment of the Institute of Social Sciences of the PDPA CC. This institute bears the most significant revolutionary task of training of party cadres and new men.

Such gains and prospects drive the education forward in the country and nurture great hopes in the hearts of all.

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AFGHANISTAN

LOYA JIRGAH SENDS MESSAGE TO 'WORKING PEOPLE'

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 28 Apr 85 pp 3-4

[Text] Loya Jirgah (grand assembly) elected representatives of the people was convened from 23 to 25 April 1985 in Kabul, in order to take decisions with regard to the vital and destiny making issues of the homeland; ensurance of peace and security in the country; defence of the country against imperialist interventions in the internal affairs of the country; and safeguarding the territorial integrity of the country and in order to solicit the opinions and views of the elected representatives of people with regard to the domestic and foreign policy of the party and state of the DRA.

The Loya Jirgah also approved vital documents including a message to the people of Afghanistan which is published here in the process of the publication of other important documents of the Loya Jirgah.

In the name of God, the merciful and benign,

Dear Compatriots, Brothers and Sisters,

We, the representatives of the valorous and courageous people of Afghanistan assigned by the entire Afghan people, i.e. the workers, peasants, intellectuals, scholars, elders, clergymen, nomads, craftsmen, and national bourgeoisie, the representatives of all the tribes and nationalities of the country have gathered in this historical Loya Jirgah on the invitation of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA to discuss the vital and decisive-for-destiny issues of our fatherland, with a sense of responsibility for the homeland, dignity and the Afghan honour. After comprehensive deliberations and consultations on the basis of the tenets of the holy religion of Islam and the noble tradition of Afghan Jirgahs, which is legacy of our valorous forefathers and in accordance with the demands of the time and the lofty interests of the country we declare that:

The PDPA, the party of our true and patriotic sons, is serving the people of Afghanistan and directs and orients the Afghan society. The State of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the national state of the entire Afghan people, is the embodiment of the national sovereignty of the Afghan people and the guarantor of the independence, territorial integrity, dignity and national honour of our country. Under the leadership of our great brother esteemed Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, whose noble personality as a well-known patriot is known to the entire valorous Afghan people, the State of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan strives for the construction and prosperity of the country.

The April Revolution and its new phase, made the Afghan people the genuine masters of their homeland and rescued them from the burden of oppression, cruelty and injustice of the tyrant rulers. The Revolution paved the grounds for deep-going socio-economic, political and cultural transformations in the interest of the country and people. But the enemies of the Afghan people, by imposing a fratricidal war, hinder the well-being of the Afghan people and put stumbling blocks on the path of their tranquillity and prosperity. The people of Afghanistan must think how to foil the plans of the enemies so that an end must be put to the fraticide of Afghans by Afghans.

It was after the April Revolution that for the first time in the history of Afghanistan equal rights of all the fraternal nationalities and tribes of the country were ensured and practical conditions were provided for the national unity and brotherhood of all the people. On the basis of the humane and democratic policy and nature of the State of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, democratic legality was enforced comprehensively in the socio-economic life of the country.

With the realisation of the policy of the PDPA and the State of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the field of the democratic and just land and water reforms, hundreds of thousands of peasant families became the owners of land and the masters of their own life.

The Revolution opened the path of knowledge and cultural enlightenment and provided the real possibilities for the salvation of the people from poverty, unemployment, hunger, oppression, disease and illiteracy.

The April Revolution, particularly its new and evolutionary phase, by following an active and peace-loving policy based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, non-alignment and solidarity with the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world transformed a forgotten, unknown and under-developed Afghanistan into a prestigious, prideful, active country which enjoys respect and credibility in the international arena. At present, the revolutionary Afghanistan enjoys the relentless support of all the progressive mankind, particularly the Soviet Union, the old and tested friend of the Afghan people, which never refrained from rendering fraternal and disinterested assistance to our country. The Muslim peoples of the world support the revolution of Afghanistan and the peoples of the region hopefully look forward to the final victory of the April Revolution.

Compatriots,

The enemies of the Afghan people, the enemies of the independence, freedom, dignity and honour of the brave and courageous Afghans, enemies who are successors to the old British colonialists, i.e., the aggressive and treacherous government of the USA, this enemy of the Muslims of the world as well as the Chinese hegemonists, the international reaction and that of the region, particularly the militarist and reactionary government of Zia ul-Haq in Pakistan as well as the reactionary ruling circles of Iran, these enemies of progress and prosperity of the Afghan people, have launched an undeclared war against the country of forefather and ancestors, against the country of brave and courageous Afghans. They have deceived some of the Afghans and forced them to resort to fratricide and actions against the national interests, against the dignity and pride of the beloved Afghanistan. At the same time, they have forced some others, through swindle, deceit and threat, to leave their homeland and turned them, contrary to the honour and dignity of Afghans, into their slaves who live under pitiable and inhuman conditions in alien territories. The enemies of the homeland, people and revolution of Afghanistan have hired a number of traitors, mercenaries and criminals, the so-called freedom-fighters and the defenders of Islam, and train them in the military camps located in Pakistan and Iran. Afterwards, they send them to Afghanistan to carry out murder, plunder, looting, arson and encroachments on the honour and property of the Afghans.

Compatriots,

History has placed before each and every Afghan the question of to be or not to be for our beautiful homeland, this inheritance of our fathers and forefathers. The Loya Jirgah of the representatives of the Afghan people addresses, in the prideful name of our country, in the name of the glorious history of our country, in the name of national pride, in the name of Afghan dignity, in the name of honour of the Afghan sisters and mothers as well as in the name of the sacred religion of Islam, you, people of Afghanistan, wherever you are:

--Brothers and sisters of Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Turkman, Baluch, Pashaie, Nooristani and other tribes and nationalities of the country:

You, whose ancestors and fathers gallantly gave the sacrifice of their blood at the battle-fronts to defend and preserve the independence and national honour of this country, today once again you are called on by the homeland so that by joining the ranks of the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, by forming the groups of the defenders of the revolution, border militia, tribal units and civil defence groups rise against the enemy as a monolith and an iron-fist for the defence of your national dignity and prestige and display your Afghan bravery and valour to them.

Workers and Peasants, the entire working people,

The new, prosperous and progressive Afghanistan will be built by your powerful arms. Strive actively for the promotion of the level of production, defence

of the production means, factories, fields, mines, forests, hydro-power dams, roads and highways. In all spheres show the initiative, use innovations and austerity and take care of public property. Defend with Afghan bravery and valour the gains of the revolution, achieved at the price of the blood of the martyrs, and pave the grounds for the prosperity and well-being of the society.

Valorous Armed Forces of Afghanistan,

You are the guarantors of the safeguarding of independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of our fatherland against the aggressions of the old historical enemies of the people of Afghanistan, that is, the international imperialism and reaction. You should continue your just and vigorous fight just as your heroic fathers did.

Brave and militant Pashtun tribes,

Based upon Pashtun traditions, the legacy of your heroic fathers do not allow the enemies to turn your regions into theatres of war and fratricide. Do not allow the enemies to trample on your traditional freedom and encroach on your territories. It is your duty to safeguard, like your forefathers did the borders of your sacred homeland as your most valuable possession and seal the borders of the country on miscreant trained by alien non-Muslims, and on mercenaries and murderers. Do not allow these miscreants, the USA and Pakistan to sow discord among you.

Esteemed religious scholars, clergymen, preachers and servants of the holy religion of Islam,

Call people to brotherhood and fraternity. Put your valuable words at the service of peace and tranquillity in the society. In our country, complete freedom of belief and freedom of professing religion and performing religious rites have been guaranteed by the law and the State has been helping the noble clergy as well as assisting in renovation and construction of mosques, religious schools, and the holy places of Afghanistan.

Deceived compatriots living in misery and vagabondage in foreign countries,

Return to your sacred homeland and build your houses, your mosques, and cultivate your farmlands.

Do not surrender to a humiliating life and pressure of aliens and enemies.

Do not allow your dead to be buried in alien cemeteries.

Your kind state will furnish with all its power a decent life for you. Come and help with an Afghan will and determination your national and popular state, and participate in building a new life in your homeland. The General Amnesty Decree of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has guaranteed your life, property, freedom and work. Overcome your elusive fears and hurry towards your home.

Deceived compatriots who under the provocations of the religious, national and historical enemies of Afghanistan have taken up arms and, contrary to the tenets of Islam, Afghan traditions and their own will, have been forced to destroy houses and mosques as well as the heritage of the ancestors and kill the brothers and sisters;

Act consciously before it is too late.

Get the mercenaries of US dollar, Pak rupees and Saudi ryals, the mercenaries of the USA, Pakistan, Iran, China and other enemies of your homeland, off your shoulder. Lay down arms and come to the compassionate embrace of your homeland people and state. The State, just as it has done so far, now, too, will take the responsibility to keep you safe and secure and to provide for you decent conditions of work and life.

The elimination of those, who have sold themselves to the enemies of our national interests and our homeland and with the money and weapons provided by the enemies to destroy their own paradise-like country, and do not respond to the call of this Loya Jirgah, is the national, Islamic and conscientious duty of all of us.

Compatriots,

Put into practice the decisions of the present Loya Jirgah which are aimed at the welfare of the country, ending war and fratricide in the country, for ensuring unity and cooperation as well as peace and security of the people and for the construction of a new Afghanistan. This is a national, Afghan and Islamic duty of all of you.

Dated: April 25, 1985

CSO: 4600/464

AFGHANISTAN

TEXTILES SAID PLAYING KEY ROLE IN NATION'S ECONOMY

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 15 May 85 p 2

[Text] The factories run by Afghan Textile have produced over 259 million metres of different fabrics after the victory of the April Revolution.

Afghan Textile is one of the major textile complex of the country. It has continued producing cloth in spite of the hinderances of the revolution's enemies such as destruction of production facilities, disconnection of power, etc.

Till the first half of 1363 HS, the Afghan Textiles had four productive units in Gulbahar, Pulikhomri, Jabul Saraj and Guzargah of Kabul. However, in the beginning of the second half of last Afghan year, Kabul spinning mills, Kabul hosiery and textile mills were amalgamated in the Afghan Textiles. Now, the total production capacity of the said seven production units is 81.9 million metres of cotton and synthetic fabrics.

The production of Afghan Textiles plays an important role in improving the economic position of the country. The mills not only use the raw material (cotton) produced in the country, but engages thousands of Afghan workers in production. Furthermore, the use of locally produced fabrics instead of foreign ones, prevents the flow of currency to abroad.

The capital of Afghan Textiles is 1,427.5 million, 75 per cent of which is the share of the state and banks. It sells its production through its 297 whole-sale and retail-sale stores, located in different parts of Kabul city and northern and eastern provinces of the country. Besides, in order to render better service to the compatriots, the Afghan Textiles have newly formed 20 more retail-sale stores in different densely populated areas of Kabul city.

The products of Afghan Textiles are not kept in stock but sold fully. This fact in itself shows that the said Afghan products can compete properly with the imported fabrics of the same kind. Our compatriots make greater use of the local products in order to strengthen the national economy of the country.

Apart from the Afghan Textiles many other plants in the private sector and mills of state sector such as Bagrami Textile Mills, Balkh Textile Mills, Pulicharkhi Woolen Mills, Kandahar Woolen Mills as well as the textile mills of Herat and Kandahar thread fabrics produce millions of metres of fabrics annually and meet the demand of our compatriots.

Among others, Guzargah Textile Mills won the first position among the industrial institutions of the country in the work emulation drive, launched in 1363 HS to honour the 20th founding anniversary of the PDPA, and received the honourary banner and Afs 210,000 as cash award.

The zealous workers of this institution could win the first place for their institution due to their perseverance and hard work.

A spokesman of the mills enumerated the following factors which contributed to his mills winning the first place, "Full understanding and coordination between the responsible organs of the institution, creation of crash work groups, materialization of accord system in the wage of workers, award of material and spiritual encouragement to creative workers, correct maintenance of machines, prevention of any standstill in production process, and economisation in material and energy. The mills could produce in 1363 HS 537,000 more metres of grey cloth and 622,000 more metres of colour cotton cloth over the actual plan target of six million metres. Thus the plan for grey cloth was fulfilled by 117.9 per cent and of coloured fabrics by 120.73 per cent. These figures are 84.6 per cent and 15.6 per cent more respectively than the production of the year 1362 HS. [quotation marks as published]

The work productivity showed an increase of 52 per cent as compared to the year 1362 HS.

After gaining this great honour, the workers of the mills pledged that they would work ever more zealously and to win more honours for themselves.

CSO: 4600/463

AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

PRODUCTION BOOST PLEDGE--The fertiliser and power generation complex of Mazare Sharif won the first position in a nationwide work drive devoted to the 20th founding anniversary of the PDPA. The production plan of the Complex for the last Afghan year was surpassed by producing over 20 thousand tons of urea fertiliser which showed a considerable increase as compared to the previous year. Also, 230.9 million KW electricity was produced during the same period which shows an increment of 8.3 percent as compared to the preceding year. The sale of urea products amounted to Afs 675.142 million and of power generated to 20.489 million. Modern apartments were given to 39 workers families during the last year. The workers and employees of the plant have made a commitment to boost the level of output, make effective use of the productive capacity, and implement the plan for the year before the schedule. They have also resolved to produce 5 thousand ton of fertilisers more than the plan which would earn an extra amount of Afs seven million to the institution. They are also economising on raw material. [Text] [Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 14 May 85 p 1]

CSO: 4600/468

BANGLADESH

**SOLUTION TO SHANTI BAHINI PROBLEM REPORTED 'IN SIGHT'**

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 15 May 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] Chittagong, May 14:--A lasting solution to the 12-year long so-called Shanti Bahini problem of Chittagong Hill Tracts now seems quite practical. The optimism for peace reigns very much after the arrests of 3,000 Shanti Bahini men.

The morale of the Shanti Bohini has been badly shaken as its membership come down from about 5,000 to 2000 at present.

The existing Shanti Bahini men are expected to follow the suit of their corner comrades and to come out in the open in course of time. The fear of reprisal and suspicion are said to have been preventing many of them to give up arms.

The unprecedented surrender of 233 Priti faction members on April 29 further heightened this expectancy. Because with the surrender of this contingent the Priti faction of Shanti Bahini almost got liquidated. However, the Priti faction leader Mr. Priti Kumar Chakma along with his 50 followers are now reportedly staying at Agartola of India. These 50 followers include prominent members like Debjoti Chakma alias Deben and Bhabotosh Dewan alias Giri, Mr. Priti and his followers who were responsible for the killing of Shanti Bahini god father Mr. Manobendra Lal Larma two years ago are also expected to give up them soon.

The Shanti Bahini, the armed cadre of Hill Tracts Jana Sanghati Samity are now in total disarray and confusion. According to informed sources at least 300 hard-core members including their leader Mr. Manabendra Lal Larma were killed in the jungle in fighting during the last three years.

The schism between Larma and Priti supporters first surfaced during the national conference of the Jana Shanghati in 1977. This schism finally got them divided into Larma faction and Priti faction within one year. Then the two factions started to haunt and kill each other in frequent clashes. This totally weakened the Shanti Bahini strength by and large. Moreover, the years of isolation, neglect and empty propaganda insulated and tired out them. The Shanti Bahini idealism suffered further setback when they gradually inclined to dacoity hijacking and kidnapping. The ransom money that they realised from the kidnapped persons is the main source of funds for their activities. They also tarnished their image by forcibly collecting money from tribal will agers, local contractors and businessmen.

Meanwhile, the present government has taken up a massive economic programme to improve the lot of the tribal people in Chittagong Hill Tracts. The development programme aimed at removing the impressing hardship from the mind of tribal people that they are not neglected. These development programmes have already started yielding positive result and helped renewal of the confidence of the tribal people.

The Zonal Martial Law Administrator Major General M. Nooruddin Khan who is key man to negotiate the issue expressed his total optimism for resolving the problem. With the elimination of Priti faction, the security forces will find more easier to negotiate with the Larma faction which is known as lenient group. All these indicate that the liquidation of Shanti Bahini is now only time factor.

CSO: 5650/0149

BANGLADESH

ARMED INDIAN NATIONAL ARRESTED NEAR HARIPUR

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 15 May 85 p 1

[Text] Bogra, May 14: An Indian national named Jalimuddin alias Dulal was arrested last night from Haripur under Faba police station of Rapshahi district on charge of carrying out anti-state activities and possessing pamphlets against holding of upazila elections, reports BSS.

An official handout today said on Monday night at around 6 p.m. three people were found suspiciously pedalling on a cycle along the Rajshahi Chapainawabganj highway near Haripur. When the patro, police challenged them they tried to run away leaving a handbag and a packet wrapped with a towel. The packet burst when it fell to the ground. None was however, injured. There were two hand grenades inside the packet. The police chased them and was able to catch one of them. The other two managed to escape.

The arrested person was Jalimuddin alias Dulal, son of late Shakawat Sheikh of village Salinda of Bharatpur police station under Murshidabad district. He confessed to the police that the other two persons were his counsins Babu and Mejal. They hailed from a village under Paba police station. The bag which was recovered from the spot contained anti-state and anti upazila election posters.

He informed the police that they had bought the hand grenades in India, each of them costing Tk. 50. He further informed the police that about 15 days back Babu had visited his home in India with a draft of the pamphlet which he got printed in a press in Bharatpur.

CSO: 5650/0150

INDIA

**GANDHI SPEAKS TO CONGRESS-I PARLIAMENTARY PARTY**

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 18 May 85 p 1

[Text]

**NEW DELHI, May 17.—**Indicative of the hard line that the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, is now going to adopt towards the trouble-makers in Punjab was what he said at a meeting of the Congress(I) Parliamentary Party today: "We should not be bullied by a bunch of extremists" and "The Government will be very firm with terrorists and terrorism".

In his close-of-session valedictory address to the party, Mr. Gandhi referred to his forthcoming visits to the USSR and the USA, and said these visits were "in the national interest".

He then said: "We should not be bullied by a bunch of extremists. People should remain calm and not be provoked into retaliation, which is what the extremists want. We must not allow any backlash as a result of the violence and killings unleashed by terrorists".

Mr Gandhi advised the people to follow the tenets of Mahatma Gandhi and remain non-violent even in the face of tremendous provocations and pressures because that requires courage and conviction.

**NEW BILL**

The Prime Minister declared that the Government would be very firm with terrorists and terrorism and he hoped that with the passing of the Anti-terrorist Bill now introduced in Parliament, the administration and the law and order machinery would be considerably strengthened to face the challenge posed by the forces of terrorism.

The Prime Minister said that despite the resource constraints and the adverse economic environment, the Seventh Plan was going to be larger than expected.

The main emphasis in the Plan would be on consolidation and the creation of a new infrastructure and anti-poverty measures. "Our investments in future will not be thinly spread and will be oriented towards yielding quick results and strengthening the economy".

The Prime Minister assured the members that steps were being taken to firmly deal with those who were creating scarcities, indulging in hoarding and black-marketing and those who were taking advantage of seasonal factors in raising the prices of commodities.

**SLANTED BUDGET**

He said his impression was that in certain quarters, there was a feeling that a certain slant (in the

direction of the economy) had been given to the budget. "Our earlier resolve to fight poverty is still there and there has been no tampering with this. Of course, certain measures have been taken to stimulate growth which will, in their net effect, benefit the poor and the peasantry and will provide the much-needed boost to our efforts to modernize the economy".

He also referred to the steps taken by the Government to fight the menace of black money and its disastrous consequences to the economy and the common man. The tax concessions given could promote a positive climate in which the people would not tend to evade taxes or hide their income.

The Prime Minister advised the members to return to their constituencies and be in touch with the people, specially the poor and see to it that the anti-poverty programme of the party were implemented speedily.

CSO: 4600/1644

INDIA

ANALYST ON GANDHI'S RELATIONS WITH CHIEF MINISTERS

Madras THE HINDU in English 22 May 85 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 21.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, is now pursuing a policy of befriending the Chief Ministers of non-Congress (I) governed States to seek their active cooperation in tackling issues of wider national importance, while taking care to avoid needless confrontation with them.

The Congress (I) leaders in these States will not be allowed in future to engage in toppling operations, much less encourage defections under the guise of party splits to dislodge non-Congress (I) Governments.

The Prime Minister's advisers feel that the need for national unity has never been greater than at present, when India is faced with increasing violence. They want Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to take the lead in reassuring the non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers that he has no intention of discriminating against them.

It is to win the confidence of non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers that he decided, brushing aside the opposition of some of his own party colleagues, to bring forward legislation in Parliament during the current session itself for abolishing the Upper House in Andhra Pradesh in pursuance of the resolution adopted by the Assembly at the instance of the Telugu Desam Government. He need not have done so if he did not want to placate the Chief Minister, Mr. N. T. Rama Rao, since the Centre could have easily stalled the issue, as it did in Indira Gandhi's time, by questioning the motives of the Telugu Desam Government.

**Ties with AIADMK:** The Congress (I)'s relations with the AIADMK have been mutually beneficial and, in the process, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran has come to wield greater influence in Delhi than some of Congress (I) Chief Ministers over many issues. His recent illness

had caused considerable concern at the Centre, because it was felt that his incapacitation would have a deeply unsettling effect in the South at a time when the people of Tamil Nadu were greatly exercised over the fate of their brethren in Sri Lanka.

But what is significant is that, after his strong attacks on the Janata and Telugu Desam rule in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh during the Parliamentary and Assembly election campaigns, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has been scrupulously avoiding any uncomplimentary references to Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde or Mr. Rama Rao. On the contrary, he has been going out of his way to be extra solicitous towards them without adopting any prickly attitude.

A similar change is discernible in Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's dealings with the Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Tripura. Mr. Jyoti Basu and Mr. Nripen Chakraborty, not to speak of the Chief Minister of Sikkim, Mr. Nar Bahadur Bhandari—the Centre has quietly dropped the pending CBI investigations against Mr. Bhandari. The Chief Ministers of Nagaland, Manipur and Meghalaya, Mr. S. C. Jamir, Mr. Rishang Keishing and Mr. W. A. Sangma, who are only nominal members of the Congress (I), continue to be treated with some deference to avoid the impression of any undue dominance from Delhi.

**Kashmir:** Though Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is not going to ditch Mr. G. M. Shah in Jammu and Kashmir in the near future, his attitude towards Dr. Farooq Abdullah has undergone some change. He is no longer refusing to meet or talk to him, since the policy is to leave the former Chief Minister with enough scope to retrace his steps at a moment of his choice without loss of face.

At the Centre, too, the Prime Minister has started consulting the Opposition leaders more frequently and paying greater attention to their views on issues of national importance. The complaint of some Congress (I) MPs is that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is more accessible to the Opposition leaders these days than to his own party colleagues.

He is very keen on projecting a picture of national unity on basic issues concerning the country's political integrity and the preservation of its democratic values by seeking the cooperation of all the non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers and leaders of Opposition parties in Parliament in dealing with the current wave of terrorism. It was at his instance that Doordarshan had telecast in its main news bulletins the other day an emotional appeal by NTR for national unity followed by a plea for a relentless fight against divisive forces.

**Nehru practice:** The Prime Minister is also reported to be thinking of following the practice of Jawaharlal Nehru of writing periodically to the Chief Ministers of all States to keep them informed of his general thinking on both national and international events. It would open the way for a greater inter-action of ideas between the Centre and States on many issues which are under concern to the people.

CSO: 4600/1645

INDIA

**DATE FOR GANDHI-JAYEWARDENE MEETING UNDER CONSIDERATION**

Madras THE HINDU in English 26 May 85 p 1

**[Article by G.K. Reddy]**

**[Text]**

NEW DELHI, May 25.

The Governments of India and Sri Lanka are now considering a mutually convenient date and venue for a summit meeting between Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Mr. J. R. Jayewardene to discuss the Tamils problem.

The Sri Lankan President wants the meeting to take place, if possible at some point in India other than Delhi, before the Prime Minister leaves on June 5 on his two-week-long trip to Egypt, France, Algeria and the United States.

The Indian convenience about the timing and venue of the proposed meeting will be indicated in the next few days after Mr. Rajiv Gandhi returns tomorrow from his Soviet visit. In view of the worsening situation in Sri Lanka, it is quite possible that he would agree to meet Mr. Jayewardene before he goes abroad again.

**Kerala venue likely:** It has been informally suggested that, if the Prime Minister can make a trip to one of the Southern States other than Tamil Nadu to fulfil some engagements, the Sri Lankan President could meet him there. The State that is being thought of in this context is Kerala, which is only a short hop from Colombo.

After avoiding such a meeting with Mr. Rajiv Gandhi for the last few months despite the standing invitation to him, Mr. Jayewardene seems to have veered round to the view, better late than never, that Sri Lanka's ethnic tangle cannot be resolved without India's active cooperation. He is now seeking India's help in ending the vicious cycle of violence and counter-violence in Sri Lanka before anything else can be done to find a political solution to the Tamil problem.

This new approach is based on the growing realisation in Colombo that, if the Tamil "Tigers" are not going to succeed in their armed struggle to achieve a separate Eelam, the Sri Lankan Government is in no position either to put down their insurgency through military action. The prolongation of the emergency will not only deepen the ethnic crisis but also destroy the economy of the country, besides paralysing its Government.

**No alternative:** As there is no alternative to a negotiated settlement, Mr. Jayewardene and his advisers seem to be reconciling themselves to the thought that

no military solution is possible. Their latest strategy is to involve India in finding a reasonable settlement of the Tamil problem within the framework of a united Sri Lankan State.

Faced with a serious internal emergency in 1972 in the wake of a leftist attempt to overthrow her Government, the former Prime Minister, Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike had to seek India's help in dealing with this threat. In 1978, Mr. Jayewardene almost came to the point of turning to India for help in controlling the anti-Tamil riots while Mr. Morarji Desai was heading the Janata Government.

**New reality:** There are still some men of goodwill and moderation in his Government who have been prevailing upon Mr. Jayewardene to welcome India's cooperation in ending the present cycle of violence and opening the way for a negotiated settlement of the Tamil problem. And it is in recognition of this new reality and in response to the pleas for a more conciliatory approach to this problem that Mr. Jayewardene has decided to have an early meeting with Mr. Rajiv Gandhi for personal discussion on the complexities of the ethnic issue, instead of adhering blindly to his rigid public postures of an all-out war on terrorism.

### **Tamils rounded up**

UNI reports from Colombo:

Nearly 200 Tamils were taken into custody during a combined house-to-house search operation by the police and the Army in some of the predominantly-Tamil localities of Colombo today, official sources said.

People living in those areas were checked against the electoral list to find if any "undesirable elements" were being harboured. Those who were not in the list and could not establish their bona fides were taken in for questioning.

**Martial law courts:** Mr. Jayewardene has announced, in an interview to *New York Times* that he intended to establish martial law courts to deal with what he called "a breakdown of law and order".

The President said: "Martial law is misunderstood a lot. It does not mean you just shoot. Martial law means that normal courts are suspended and judges are appointed outside the Constitution. And they hear cases according to procedures. It means that for certain offences you will have special courts".

CSO: 4600/1650

INDIA

SOARING PRICES SAID TO DAMAGE GANDHI'S IMAGE

Madras THE HINDU in English 26 May 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

**A**T this time of the year, people are generally a little more critical of the Government. The intense summer heat, especially in the north, frays tempers making the harassed public increasingly fretful at the slightest provocation. The torments of frequent power cuts, water shortages, school and college admissions, transport bottlenecks, rise, and the need to grease palms to get anything done makes people increasingly irritable and resentful in the face of the growing pressures of daily existence.

This year the sharp rise in prices, in the wake of the budget, has led to a greater degree of public dissatisfaction bordering on disillusionment with the Government. Those in authority have been trying to explain it away with the usual apologia that this is only a seasonal phenomenon which will sort itself out with the onset of the monsoon, instead of taking timely steps to control prices and curb inflation with some imaginative measures.

The result is that the Government has been unwittingly frittering away the tremendous goodwill with which it had been voted back to power, with the biggest ever margin in any Indian election. It should have been quite obvious to the Prime Minister and Finance Minister that an increase in railway freight rates, and petrol, diesel and kerosene prices, not to speak of the many across the board excise levies, are bound to have a cascading effect.

The people are required to pay more not only for their daily needs like vegetables, fruit, milk, sugar and salt, but also for steel, cement, coal and many other manufactured items affected by increases in electricity rates, transport costs, new excise levies and higher profit margins.

The only saving grace is that there has been no comparable rise in the prices of foodgrains. But it has led to considerable unrest among farmers who feel that they are not getting enough for their produce, when they are required to pay more for almost everything else. The Government will feel compelled sooner or later to grant substantial increases in the procurement prices of rice and wheat to contain this rural discontent, leading in turn to a further rise in the overall price situation.

Government servants are already clamouring for a revision of basic pay scales, dearness allowances and other benefits to cope with the rising living costs, while the wage boards are under pressure to recommend comparable increases in the emoluments of industrial workers and other salaried sections. The Pay Commission which went into this very carefully before the latest price rise has to take a fresh look at the whole problem all over again, if its recommendations are to have any relevance to the new realities of the economic situation.

An equally disquieting development is the growing uneasiness in high Government circles over the deeply ingrained tendency of the private sector to take undue advantage of such inflationary pressures to make bigger profits, generating more black money in the bargain. If these inflationary trends are not checked before it is too late, the current honeymoon between the Government and industry is bound to end in a bitter squabble under pressure of public opinion, with all the attendant risks of an abrupt lurch back to more State controls with socialistic overtones.

As a young man with a modern mind who is gifted with a technological vision of the country's future, the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv

Gandhi, has had no personal contact with the big sharks in private industry and trade, who thrive on controls and shortages and are not really interested in his policies of liberalisation. He has been looking at the rapacious Indian business community largely through the eyes of the younger entrepreneur class with a better social background that is used to talking big and conjuring up illusions of a great leap forward into the new electronic age with some imaginative help from the Government.

So it is not surprising that Mr. Gandhi is upset over the behaviour of the business community which has not lived up to his expectations. He has been threatening drastic steps to discipline private industry and trade, if they continue to profit unduly, defeating the very purpose of liberalisation.

But so far precious little has been done to hold the price line because the Government has no clear idea of what can be done to exercise greater control on the productive and distributive systems without reverting to restrictive practices and in the process abandoning its *laissez faire* approach to development.

The sad part of it all is that the new Prime Minister has not yet settled down to the tasks of governance, although he has been in office for five months after his electoral victory. He has not been able to get together a competent group of senior Ministers who understand his political and economic philosophies and are able to work as a cohesive team for achieving the desired results.

The haphazard distribution of portfolios and excessive concentration of power in a few hands through *ad hoc* allocation of important ministries like Commerce and Industry, not to speak of External Affairs and Tourism, as additional charges to already over-burdened ministers, has not contributed to smooth functioning of the Government.

The bureaucracy too is in bad shape because many of the Ministers have not yet been able to establish a proper equation with senior officials. Too many Secretaries have been shifted around for no particular reason with the result that not many of them feel secure in their present positions. The Cabinet Secretary has been entrusted with so many additional responsibilities that he cannot devote much time to his basic task of ensuring that the bureaucracy functions efficiently with the necessary dedication and resilience in an atmosphere of greater probity, free from favouritism.

#### **Neglected tasks**

The excessive preoccupation with foreign policy pursuits, and the increasing involvement in the law and order aspects of administration, has also led to a certain negligence of other tasks of Government. Internal turmoils continue to divert attention from the more important responsibilities of better economic management which should normally be receiving the utmost

priority in the face of renewed inflationary pressures. There is no senior civil servant with the necessary stature and experience serving as secretary to the Prime Minister to assist him in the higher direction of government.

The absence of an individual with enough personal standing at this nodal point of the bureaucracy has left a void in the coordination of the work of various ministries to implement the prescribed policies and oversee the functioning of government. Those opposed to the revival of this powerful post point out that Nehru managed with only a private secretary in his time, conveniently glossing over the fact that the work of government has multiplied many-fold in the last 20 years and that it is impossible for a present-day Prime Minister to shoulder this tremendous burden without a very senior civil servant to assist him by acting as his principal adviser and as a channel of communication with various ministries.

#### **Popularity still intact**

The long overdue Cabinet expansion will give Mr. Rajiv Gandhi a good opportunity to induct some promising individuals, re-allocate some portfolios and even drop a few who have not come up to his expectations. The country's populist politics have deprived the Congress (I) of a chance to bring more competent persons into Parliament and utilise their experience in running the Government. But there is no reason why he should not make better use of the available talent in the ruling party to improve the quality of the administration.

The Prime Minister's personal popularity with the people has not so far suffered due to the faltering performance of his Government, but critics have started asking why Mr. Gandhi is no longer talking of giving the country a clean, efficient and responsive government as he did after assumption of office. He has also not declared the promised war on corruption to clean up the country's political life and improve the quality of his Government. The people will continue to give him the benefit of doubt and support his policies whatever their other limitations, if he can reassure them that he is determined to clear up the cobwebs, curb political corruption, and sanitise the administration.

The country is passing through a difficult summer, even if it is not a summer of discontent as some critics would describe it, riven by mounting violence, rising prices and increasing privations for the hard-pressed people. The Government is hoping fervently that a good monsoon with the promise of yet another bumper harvest, will help to check the inflationary pressures.

#### **No answer to this one**

The Prime Minister has been told by his advisers that the worst will be over in another two or three months and that he can look forward to a breathing spell thereafter for proceeding with his economic reforms without much

dislocation. But the question nobody is posing, even in the course of discussions within the Government, is what will happen if the monsoon is not good this year.

The scenario projected by some experts is that though the country will pull through on the food front by falling back on its comfortable reserves, there will be other serious setbacks like increased power shortages as a result of the decline in hydro-electric generation, leading to a decline in industrial production with its concomitant impact on employment. The drought conditions created by a poor monsoon will impose extra responsibilities on the Government for relief operations.

It could lead to a psychic downturn in the mood of the country, giving the political malcontents a chance to exploit the frustrations of the people. Those who draw attention to these disquieting possibilities are not deliberately painting a grim picture to decry the policies of the Prime Minister or belittle the performance of his Government. The intention is to forewarn of what could happen, while pressing for more energetic steps in dealing with the country's economic management before people are swept by feelings of disillusionment.

CSO: 4600/1650

INDIA

WRITER DEEMS MEASURES AGAINST TERRORISM INADEQUATE

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 13 May 85 p 8

[Article by N.S. Saksena]

[Text] It is a platitude that the present measures employed by the government to tackle terrorism will not do. The government and its senior officers are aware of this inadequacy and yet have failed to adopt new measures. As I have repeatedly argued in these columns in the past, this failure is not due to a lack of understanding of the disease, nor of the remedies for it; the inaction is attributable to politics.

It is important to assess the stage in which we are as far as terrorism goes, and to decide what can be done and how long it will take to produce results. Let us first be clear in our minds that we have, through our own follies, created a problem much bigger in dimensions than the IRA (Irish Republican Army) in Britain.

Secondly, these terrorists are receiving massive help from abroad in motivation, finance, training, formulation of strategy, etc.

Thirdly, their objective is clearly to invite retaliation from the Hindus so that Sikhs migrate to Punjab and Hindus migrate out of Punjab, leading to a situation conducive to achieving Khalistan in effect. And finally, another of the terrorists' objectives is to make life so difficult for the common people in cities and towns that they would say: Let there be a Khalistan with an arranged exchange of population.

With this scenario it should be clear that it is not the opposition but the government, which is--let us say, unconsciously--working for the dismemberment of the country. If the Hindu masses (not the Sikhs) want to concede Khalistan, there is no Mahatma Gandhi even to attempt to prevent such an eventuality.

Before we discuss what should be done let us shed a few illusions. All brave official declarations made on Punjab and terrorism for the last three years are as nonsensical as Pandit Nehru's brave orders to his army chief of staff "to throw out the Chinese" in 1961-62.

### Time Needed

Just two months ago the director-general of police, Punjab, gave an array of statistics at a press conference to say how fast the situation in the state had improved, although the press had exaggerated its deterioration. The chief minister of Gujarat was guilty at least of unpardonable ignorance when he blamed the press for gross exaggeration of violence in the state. The Punjab officer was guilty of more than ignorance.

There can be nothing more foolish than to demand the resignation of the Prime Minister or the home minister or to transfer lieutenant-governors and directors-general of police. It will be equally foolish to blame the opposition for all that is happening. The government-opposition balance has been lost. From some of the statements made recently, it appeared that the government was only a helpless spectator.

There is simply no method of bringing about an improvement in the situation within the next six months or so. If correct remedies are applied now, the situation will start improving only later, after which there will be continuous, steady and slow improvement--let us say at the rate of 25 percent per year--and normalcy may be reached at the end of 1987 or so.

It is a long war with hundreds of battles, some being won and others being lost. Therefore, the government should not fall into the trap of pseudo-experts, who may promise instant improvement. The internal security apparatus is like a tuberculosis patient; after prolonged treatment and with proper attention to food, exercise and sleep, he can definitely be made fit. Anyone who promises that this patient can run the marathon in the 1988 Olympics is a charlatan. We must be prepared for much worse in 1985 than in 1984.

Creation of new security squads and agencies without effecting a major change in the police will not do. If there is no political will to control the 500-odd state ministers and about 4000-odd legislators from misusing the million-strong state police, it is better not to attempt the task.

### Security Minister

However, what can be done? The Union home minister has a massive portfolio and the reorganisation of the internal security apparatus does not claim more than a fraction of his time. There should be a separate cabinet minister for internal security, who should have nothing to do with politics. Let the political problems be dealt with by the Union home minister. The internal security minister should deal purely with the technical improvement of the state security apparatus. It would be good if he has no political job at all.

Some of the other remedies are listed in the eight reports of the National Police Commission. These can be divided into three categories:

(I) Those which have no financial implications at all. These can be enforced within a month.

(II) Those requiring changes in laws etc but have no financial implications. These can be implemented after urgent consultations with state governments. Whatever the nature of the crisis the chief secretaries and directors-general of police in the states must be associated. They have a better grasp of reality than the home ministry.

(III) A number of changes require financial outlays. These should be implemented within a period of three to four months. It may be added that more than half of the remedies require no expenditure at all. All that is needed is political will.

Finally, no foreign expertise is needed. We have an internal security academy at Mount Abu. There is much more knowledge available in this academy than in London, Paris, Bonn and Washington. When the situation became hot in early 1984 scores of officers packed up their suitcases and went on foreign junkets without utilising the knowledge available at their doors.

To conclude, the only remedy for fighting terrorism is a police force which enjoys the confidence of the people (not of the party in power) and which is technically efficient. Even a super-efficient force, which the public hates as at present, cannot deliver the goods. It is tens of millions of people in markets, in buses, in trains and in other places, who have to extend co-operation to the police.

CSO: 5650/0158

INDIA

REPORTAGE AND COMMENT ON NORTH INDIA BOMBINGS

New Phase of Terrorism

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 12 May 85 p 1

[Text]

THE bomb blasts in the capital and other towns in north India on Friday and Saturday can leave no room for doubt that terrorism has entered a new and a far more dangerous phase. The blasts appear to be the work of one organisation. So on the face of it, there exists somewhere a centre which has provided the same type of explosives and coordinated the activities of terrorists. Though one cannot be too certain, this coordinating centre is not likely to be located in a major gurdwara. For the major gurdwaras, it would be reasonable to assume, have been under watch at least since Operation Bluestar last June. Indeed, it might be pertinent to raise the question whether the headquarters of terrorist activities was located in the Golden Temple complex even earlier. We raised this question then. In the light of the present experience it has become necessary to press it.

It is, of course, indisputable that Bhindranwale had been the main inspiration behind Akali terrorism since 1982, that a number of criminals had taken refuge in the Golden Temple complex and that the shrine had been converted into a fortress. But it did not necessarily follow that the effective centre of terrorism operated from there. The entire operation could have been a decoy. Perhaps the authorities examined this possibility and rejected it on account of their failure to trace a terrorist headquarters anywhere else. Bhindranwale's provocative statements could also be intended to divert attention from the true source of mischief. Anyway it is now clear beyond dispute that either the old terrorist organisation is basically intact or a new one even more deadly and determined has sprung up. Surely someone is masterminding it. But who and from where?

Most of the terrorists did not expose themselves to much risk on Friday and Saturday. They placed transistor-type bombs at places of their choice and disappeared. But, according to one report, a terrorist with a hand-grenade tied to his body tried to get into a bus at Hissar and died when he fell down and the grenade exploded, killing three others on the spot. This speaks of a suicide squad in preparation, if not already in readiness. It is clearly not possible to assess the strength of such a group

or the level of its training and motivation. But there can be no question, if the report is accurate, that it exists. This is another indication that Akali terrorism has entered a new and far more dangerous phase.

We do not wish to speculate on the choice of the timing of the explosions. We cannot say whether there is a connection between them and the recent activities in Amritsar of Bhai Joginder Singh, father-successor of Bhindranwale, and those who stand behind him. But if in terms of actual terrorist activities Bhindranwale himself was essentially a figurehead with real authority vested elsewhere, it cannot be ruled out that the 83-year-old Joginder Singh too has been used to distract attention from the other operation. To say that the coincidence between the developments in Amritsar and the blasts in Delhi may not be an accident is not to say for certain that there is a connection between the two but to suggest that the possibility cannot be ruled out. In fact, if this possibility is ruled out, it becomes doubly difficult to explain the timing of both.

It was sheer escapism on the part of the authorities and some other do-gooders to think that Sant Longowal could ever stand up to an extremist challenge. His performance in the Golden Temple was evidence enough that he was not made of that kind of stuff. But that also makes it difficult to understand why he had to be forced out just now. The do-gooders can be mesmerised into believing that he has been overthrown because he would otherwise have consolidated his position and opened talks with the government. He could have done nothing of the kind. With his praise for Mrs. Gandhi's assassins and talk of fight against the Delhi *takht* (throne) he was tying himself in knots which he could not unravel.

Akali politics are truly Byzantine in their complexity. Akali leaders divide and unite in ways which others must find bewildering. These shifting alliances can explain a lot of what has happened in recent years. But like the rest of us, they too may be victims of someone somewhere masterminding this biggest assault on India's integrity since independence. This is not to provide an alibi for the crimes they have committed against the Indian state and the nation but to suggest that Mrs. Gandhi might have been right when she spoke of India being besieged. Even those who distrusted her, rightly or wrongly, and expected Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to restore social peace as if by waving some magic wand, cannot now escape the conclusion that the Akali terrorists pose a serious challenge and that no cost is too great to defeat it. The stake is too big for the government to vacillate. Now it has no excuse either. It cannot now believe that given time the Akali leadership will consolidate its position and that having done so, it will accept a solution the rest of the nation can live with. The blasts in Delhi have blown away such illusions.

Finally, if the timing of the blasts is not easy to explain, the purposes of the terrorists are self-evident. They want to demonstrate that intelligence agencies still do not have a clue to what has been happening and to arouse distrust against fellow citizens among other communities. There is precious little we ordinary citizens can do about the official machinery but we can defeat the other nefarious objective of the enemies of India by refusing to fall into the deadly trap they are laying for us. Anyone who distrusts or in any way hurts a fellow citizen on account of the activities of some fanatics or mercenaries is guilty of undermining the foundations on which India rests.

### Bombs Outside Parliament

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 12 May 85 p 1

[Text]

New Delhi, May 11: Two bombs, shaped like cricket balls, were found outside one of the walls of Parliament House around 5.30 pm this evening. The "cricket ball" bombs were detected by policemen patrolling the boundary area facing north block, a stone's throw from the home ministry and less than a kilometre from Rashtrapati Bhavan.

The planting of the bombs in this high security area shows a serious lapse in security arrangements. A bomb disposal squad was rushed to the spot after the bombs were detected. So far these have been the only devices to be found in a high security zone.

### Failure to Predict Bombings Scored

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 12 May 85 p 7

[Text]

MAY 11.—The abject failure of all Government intelligence agencies to predict the series of bomb blasts in Delhi and the neighbouring States was today criticized by all quarters, including senior Government officials.

Meanwhile, experts from the Central Forensic Science Laboratory, who studied the bombs which had been defused before they could explode, as well as the debris from the explosion sites, reportedly found a number of details about the devices.

Senior Home Ministry officials said the failure to predict the blasts should be criticized even more strongly because the intelligence agencies did have an inkling that a major attack was being planned by the Punjab terrorists.

The Punjab branch of the Intelligence Bureau had sent a report on Tuesday stating that a large number of extremists had slipped into the capital over the past weekend, and a major "offensive" by them was feared, according to official sources. They said the explosions would have needed the services of at least 50 men.

Following the receipt of the report from Punjab, all security personnel were placed on full alert on Wednesday and Thursday, but after two days, when no incident took place, the vigil was

relaxed. As it was, the full alert had been for the security of leading politicians as the report from Punjab had mentioned that the terrorists might try to assassinate one of them, it was learnt. Nothing in the nature of what actually happened had been foreseen.

This morning, intelligence personnel intercepted five suspected terrorists as they were trying to flee the city from the New Delhi railway station. It was learnt. All the men were from Gurdaspur district in Punjab. They were being interrogated, and intelligence sources said that as yet it was not known if they were involved in the explosions.

With reports of bombs found pouring in from all over Delhi this morning, the Army's Bomb Disposal Squad had a very busy time. In the afternoon they were joined by a bomb disposal squad of the Special Frontier Force. It was learnt that the Army had one platoon in Delhi specifically to dispose of explosives. Defusing each bomb took over 30 minutes.

People in Nauraji Nagar, Okhla, Naraina, Jehangirpuri and other places where bombs had been found, complained that they had to wait for four to six hours before the bomb disposal squad arrived to dispose of the explosives.

### Modus Operandi Described

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 12 May 85 p 4

[Article by Tania Midha]

[Text]

New Delhi, May 11: Twenty bomb blasts in the capital in a little over 12 hours and each time the strategy was the same; a transistor-like device placed at a public place where it was likely to be picked up by an unsuspecting victim. While the sites chosen yesterday was buses, today it was parks and open fields.

In all cases, the terrorists slipped away after innocuously placing the bomb at a point where it would be spotted easily. The bomb did not explode till it was picked up and tinkered with. The detonator of the well-camouflaged bomb was apparently connected to the knobs on the external "transistor" casing.

According to intelligence officials, the identical devices appeared to have been manufactured on a mass scale for this operation. Besides, it was clear that the entire operation was conducted under a single command indicating how well the terrorists have regrouped themselves. At a rough estimate, they said, at least 300 to 400 people

would have to be involved in conducting this operation on such a scale.

The timing of the blasts, which occurred in quick succession within a specified period of time, also showed the well-planned and professional nature of the operation. While yesterday 15 blasts occurred in the capital in less than two hours, this morning the other five occurred between 7.30 and 8 am.

The nature of the guerrilla attacks was also significant in terms of the stark difference from the style in which Punjab terrorists operated earlier.

Of the several incidents of bomb blasts in Punjab over the last few years, most consisted of live grenades being lobbed dur-

ing public gatherings by mobile terrorists who escaped in the confusion. Attacks at railway stations and cinema halls later used timers, but none of those terrorists used such ingenuous devices.

This "maturity and sophistication" in the planning showed thorough training in guerrilla warfare, intelligence men said, pointing out that although some of the bus passengers yesterday said they had noticed some Sikhs leaving behind the parcel, none of the men had behaved in a manner which could arouse even the slightest suspicion of those around.

The strategy today—placing the devices at points in public fields and parks where they were to be noticed—speaks of a mastermind behind the operation, they felt. The focus of the attacks, mainly concentrated at jhuggi dwellers and the lower income groups as against prominent personalities, was being interpreted as intended to create general unrest with the law enforcing forces not being able to pin down on a particular point to intensify security.

### Surprising Scale of Violence

Madras THE HINDU in English 12 May 85 p 12

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 11.

The country is facing a grave challenge as the Punjab crisis, getting from bad to worse, spills over to the neighbouring States with all hazards of a communal backlash in the wake of the cold-blooded orgy of bomb blasts and brutal killings by trained terrorists bent on creating widespread panic.

But the Government is better prepared this time to take stern action against these fanatical extremists, in sharp contrast with the total paralysis that prevailed after Indira Gandhi's assassination.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and his advisers, who kept awake the whole of last night, acted swiftly taking all possible steps.

Including prompt deployment of the Army, to make doubly certain that there was no communal retaliation in Delhi by the outraged public.

The Government had some advance information that the extremists were contemplating some action to foil the moves under way for a fresh dialogue with the Akali leaders. But it did not expect that they would be able to indulge in such widespread violence with such impunity using sophisticated explosive devices.

**Foreign knowhow:** The "transistor bombs" that have been used are certainly the handiwork of trained terrorists who had access to some foreign technical assistance. Apart from the perverse ingenuity and extraordinary skill

displayed by them, these demented men have developed a Khomeini-type of cult with their own concept of martyrdom for resorting to this IRA-kind of terrorism.

So the Government is faced with an entirely new kind of threat that calls for greater imagination. In dealing with these invisible men than coping with mob fury in a more familiar law and order situation. The police and the Army might succeed in driving them underground and providing the public some respite from terrorist activities, but it is going to take a long time to track them down.

According to latest reports, the Central and State Governments have rounded up about 1,000 persons of whom not more than a 100 could be deemed to be actual or potential terrorists. Those who have been arrested include many from the border districts of Gurdaspur and Ferozepore in Punjab adjoining Pakistan.

**Crisis atmosphere:** Apart from pursuing their avowed objective of gaining control of the Akali leadership by edging out the moderates, the extremists have chosen to strike at this particular moment to inflame passions on the eve of the first anniversary of "Operation Bluestar" and, if possible, create a crisis atmosphere in the country before Mr. Rajiv Gandhi goes to Moscow and Washington.

Altogether over 70 persons have been killed and another 150 injured since yesterday. The capital has borne the main brunt and there are reports of considerable tension in Punjab and Haryana. Delhi has been relatively quiet thanks to the precautionary steps.

According to Intelligence estimates, there were not more than 1,500 hardcore extremists in Punjab before the Army action last year. A good many of them managed to slip away from the Golden Temple and go underground, when they came to know about a possible lightning strike. While 300 extremists were killed and another 300 captured, 500 to 600 went underground escaping the Army dragnet.

Another few hundred joined them later with the result, there are roughly 1,000 terrorists now in Punjab. Experts believe that at least 100 terrorists must have been engaged in the making, storing and planting of the transistor bombs as per plans, to create maximum panic and attract worldwide attention.

**Alert:** The Centre has issued a nationwide alert, directing all State Governments to take every possible precaution. Indian diplomatic missions have likewise been instructed to be vigilant against similar bomb-blasts. The present mood in Delhi is one of grim determination to use all the powers of the Government to crush terrorism, while taking steps to prevent communal tensions.

And if he succeeds in meeting this grave challenge, the Prime Minister's prestige will be enhanced considerably in the eyes of all communities, including the great majority of Sikhs who do not want the present confrontation to lead to migration. But if he fails, it would be a tragic ordeal for the whole country, since it would be difficult to prevent similar agitations taking a violent turn in future.

### Communist Paper's Editorial Article

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 12 May 85 p 1

[Editorial by R. K. Mishra]

[Text]

**T**he heinous act of detonating bombs in buses and populated localities and killing innocent men, women and children should not be described as political extremism. Cold-blooded murders by gangsters, armed and trained abroad and employed by forces intent on creating chaos and mayhem in our country, are reprehensible crimes. Though Home Minister S B Chavan's statement on these dastardly crimes was no doubt firm and forthright, we are afraid, it will not have a reassuring effect unless it is backed by actions which reflect the Government's determination to eliminate this evil at all costs.

The terrorists and, more than them, their employers have thrown a challenge to the Indian people and the Indian State by their carefully planned deprivations. They want to impose their will and force us to respond in a manner dictated by them. The first and the foremost task, therefore, is to refuse to succumb to their blackmail. This can be ensured only by clarity of perception which, let us face it, has not always been reflected in the responses of our political system so far; the Government, the Opposition and the intelligentsia included. More often than not, there has been a tendency to live in the world of make-believe, permit wishful thinking to guide actions and entertain illusions which have no foundations.

Conclusions which should have been drawn from the gravest tragedy that befell the nation were not drawn. An impression was created that the country could now return to business as usual. Confusion in correctly evaluating the role of individuals and groups led to totally misplaced hopes that generosity would bring about an improvement in atmosphere. Even those who condemned violence

gave respectability, perhaps unwittingly, to forces which aided and abetted the cult of assassination. Assassins were glorified; but the authorities continued to act with misplaced large-heartedness in the hope that their gesture would be reciprocated. Advocacy on behalf of those who indulged in treason was viewed as a plea for mercy towards misguided individuals who had acted in the heat of the moment. The impression was created that such demands could also be discussed and negotiated. Though it was never a secret that gangs of murderers and criminals were receiving money, training and political support from certain countries, we have continued to chase the mirage of improving relations with them thereby lulling, to some extent, vigilance alround. When secessionists and terrorists were given platform to masquerade as defenders of human rights, our response remained confined to feeble diplomatic protests. This soft approach must be reversed. A hard-headed response must be formulated to deal with what is clearly a continuation of the pernicious game of destabilisation of our country.

We must make it abundantly clear, not with words but by deeds, that terrorists and all those who support, protect or acquiesce in their reprehensible actions, will have to face the full might of the Indian State and the united power of the Indian people. Other countries have lived with terrorism for decades and, if necessary, for centuries. The Indian people must be ready to live and fight terrorism for as long as it is necessary to crush and eliminate it. We must not give in to panic. We must not generate pressure on the Government to buy peace early and at any cost. This is what these criminals hope will happen. All political parties must take a united stand and not try to suggest shortcuts which will be totally counter-productive and give legitimacy to terrorists or their patrons.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi must not permit terrorist actions to disrupt his foreign visits. In a way, these visits have assumed greater urgency. India must make it clear, both to friendly and not-so-friendly powers, that this country is determined to fight out this menace. There are forces and agencies which entertain the hope that by intensifying external pressure or fuelling internal disruption they can intimidate this country into falling in line. These forces must be told at the highest level that India has the capacity to deal with such mischief.

Political parties must not make terrorist depredations a partisan issue and raise emotional demands. Well-organised terrorism is no ordinary crime. Complete support of the people is an essential prerequisite for the successful implementation of measures to curb it, and these measures cannot but be ruthless. India's enemies, who are masterminding these terrorist actions, will like the country to be divided on political or communal lines. Political consensus and communal harmony are the most important weapons in the ideological battle against terrorism.

It is a matter of relief that important public figures belonging to the Sikh community, including some Akali leaders, have condemned these criminal acts. Every one who has the good of the country and the interests of Sikhs, Hindus and other communities at heart must be unequivocal in denunciation of terrorists' actions. All those who try to give to these gangsters an alibi by accusing the Government for these depraved actions, or seek to condone them on one plea or another, are accessories after the crime and are equally guilty. Political parties must overcome the tendency to see a dividing line between criminals and their patrons because no such line exists.

Horror at acts of state repression evokes a strong reaction in the ranks of liberal intelligentsia. Objectively, they provide a political and moral shield to murderers and criminals by raising diversionary issues. They must learn that terrorists are the worst enemies of civil liberties and there is no alternative to dealing with them ruthlessly. Those who refuse to see this point — many of them do so deliberately — must be ignored. The Government must instil confidence amongst the people by allaying the impression that the State machinery is incapable of taking effective steps to curb this menace.

The Punjab situation is a product of a decade of bungling all along the line. It will take ten years or more to set things right. The State has become the playground of the worst enemies of the country abroad and the most rabid reactionary elements within. The problem cannot be solved in a day by wishing it. Impatience will be counter-productive. In fact, unless the terrorists are liquidated, it is unlikely that any significant section of the Akalis can gather courage to come to a reasonable settlement.

Lastly, let us remember what George Bernard Shaw said: It is dangerous to be too good.

INDIA

PAKISTAN THIMPU DELEGATE INTERVIEWED AT CALCUTTA AIRPORT

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 16 May 85 p 3

[Text]

**S**PREADING of "unfounded accusations" against Pakistan will hinder the efforts to improve bilateral relations between India and Pakistan, according to Mr Zain Noorani, Pakistan's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

Mr Noorani, who was talking to reporters at Calcutta airport on Wednesday on his way from Thimphu to Delhi, said better relations between India and Pakistan did not mean that between the two Governments alone. The two Governments would have to carry the people along with them.

Mr Noorani felt that the people of India and Pakistan were looking forward to friendly ties between the two countries. "It will become more and more difficult for us to carry our people along with us if unfounded accusations were spread against Pakistan", he said.

Asked to comment on Mr Rajiv Gandhi's statement in the Rajya Sabha earlier this month that Pakistan was not reciprocating the unilateral measures taken by India to improve ties, Mr Noorani said: "Nobody in the world is going to believe it".

Mr Noorani said there was not a single instance where Pakistan did not reciprocate India's efforts to improve bilateral ties. He said if Mr Gandhi felt like that "let him point it out". He said Pakistan

was for peace and cooperation with India. This had been emphasized by President Zia-ul-Haq who had said: "We are on a peace offensive as far as India is concerned".

Replying to a question on alleged supply of Pakistani arms to a section of Indian extremists, Mr Noorani said "It is all fiction". He added that Pakistan was not interested in the internal affairs of its neighbours nor would it tolerate any interference in its internal affairs by any country. "There is no question whatsoever of Pakistan being involved in the internal affairs of any country."

Mr Noorani said. When the reported seizure of a gun-bearing Pakistani markings from extremists was pointed out to him, Mr Noorani said: "There is no substance in such stories". To a question on the hijackers of the Indian Airlines plane held in Pakistan, he said they would be tried according to the laws of his country.

Commenting on the dismissal by Calcutta High Court of the writ petition seeking a ban on the Koran, Mr Noorani said he was glad about it. His understanding of the Indian Constitution led him to believe that it should "not have been admitted at all", he said. He added, however, that "this was an internal affair" of India.

CSO: 4600/1641

INDIA

## NEW 'UNITED' AKALI DAL STARTS FUNCTIONING

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 15 May 85 p 1

[Text]

**Amritsar, May 14 (UNI)**—The newly-formed Shiromani Akali Dal will frame its policies and programmes on the basis of the "fundamentals of Sikhism", Mr Joginder Singh, the convenor of the party's ad-hoc committee, said today.

The party will take its directions from the Sikh scriptures and traditions and frame its policies and programmes in their light, Mr Joginder Singh, who is the father of slain extremist Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, told a news conference here.

Earlier, Mr Joginder Singh formally inaugurated the party's office in the building which previously housed the office of the Akali Dal (Talwandi).

Mr Joginder Singh declined to specify the party's policies and programmes.

However, his elder son Jagjit Singh said the new party would continue to pursue the policies of the two Akali Dal factions which have merged into it. The Shiromani Akali Dal would follow their stand on the Anandpur Sahib resolution too, he said.

Mr J S Talwandi, former Minister Atma Singh, Mr Prakash Singh Majitha, and Mr Ranjit Singh Brahmpura, MLA, were also present at the news conference.

Referring to the resignations of Mr Herchand Singh Longowal and former Chief Minister Parkash Singh Badal, Mr Joginder Singh said he had not received them so far.

He said he had included them in the ad hoc committee with the aim of forging unity in the panth.

Asked what the Dal's policy would be

on beginning negotiations with the Government on the Punjab problem, Mr Joginder Singh said the party will discuss the issue at a meeting whose date he did not specify.

He was non-committal on whether his party would press the acceptance of demands earlier raised by the Akali Dal.

Mr Atma Singh said the Government was not creating an atmosphere congenial for finding a solution to the problem.

Mr Joginder Singh said some "interested people" seemed to be behind the 22 May meeting of Akali Dal (Longowal) district presidents to consider Mr Longowal's resignation. He said he was sure Mr Longowal himself had convened the meeting.

Mr Jagjit Singh, however, told a gathering in the party office later he was sure Mr Longowal would not try to disrupt the hard-earned unity in the panth by creating doubts among the Sikhs. Mr Longowal might not have been consulted before the meeting was convened, he said.

Among those who addressed the gathering were Mr Atma Singh, Mr Ranjit Singh Brahmpura, MLA, Mr Prakash Singh Majitha, Mr Man Mohan Singh, Dal general secretary Inderjit Singh Shekhon, Mr Gurdev Singh Brar and former parliamentarian Mohinder Singh Sayanwala.

Akali Dal (Longowal) leaders Surjan Singh Thekedar and H S Sandhu watched the function from their office located in the complex.

CSO: 4600/1640

IRAN

## HOPE FOR NEGOTIATIONS APPEARS IN GULF WAR

Paris LE MONDE in French 27 Apr 85 p 1

Article: "Fragile Hope in the Gulf" /

Text Is diplomacy going to take the place of arms in the Iranian-Iraqi conflict? It is far too soon to respond affirmatively to this question. But, for the first time in a long while, a negative response is perhaps not obligatory.

The light of hope which has just appeared is due, without doubt, to the efforts of Perez de Cuellar. The Secretary General of the United Nations, having visited in Tehran and Bagdad at the beginning of April, convinced the members of the Security Council to reopen the file on this war in order to establish, at last, a dialogue between the presently uninterested adversaries. Iran, up to now, in fact, has refused to recognize the Council's right to judge the matter, arguing that most of its resolutions adopted since the beginning of the conflict are pro-Iraq.

It is within this context that the Security Council on 25 April condemned the use of chemical weapons by Iraq. A similar text was adopted in March 1984 by the Council, but it identified neither the victims nor the guilty. Slight progress was made this time since the declaration, referring to a report made by a Spanish military doctor assigned by Perez de Cuellar to examine the Iranian wounded being treated in British, Belgian, and West German hospitals, deplores, "the use of chemical weapons against Iranian soldiers." Even though the victims are clearly designated this time, they still, prudently, do not name the country responsible, though it is evidently Iraq.

Can Iran consider the declaration of the Security Council sufficient to induce it to sit down at the negotiating table? The Iranian authorities had not yet reacted by this Friday to the request from New York. Before the meeting of the Council, however, the Iranian Prime Minister, Mr. Husayn Musavi, confirmed that his country was "conditionally" disposed to participate in the discussions.

Last Wednesday, also, Tehran declared itself ready to exchange prisoners of war with Iraq, and they announced a "unilateral" liberation of 47 Iraqi invalids for the next week. Iran had always refused such an exchange because it holds about five times more prisoners than Iraq.

All of these indications are not, of course, sufficient to ensure peace. It is even possible to wonder whether Iran is preparing a propaganda maneuver to influence international opinion, or sincerely seeking a reasonable way to peace. In the next few days we must watch closely to see, in particular, if Tehran accepts to participate in the UN discussions, if Imam Khomeyni ceases to insist on the deposition of President Saddam Husayn as a necessary condition of peace, and if he no longer requires that the Security Council solemnly condemn Iraq as the aggressor. Information from Iran would be more convincing, it is true, if it did not also indicate that Iran is preparing to launch a new offensive in the region of Basra where about 200,000 men are reported to be massed.

The tragedy of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict -- whose violence, practices, number of victims, and length recall the absurdity of the First World War -- requires, however, that no way to peace be neglected. This obligation is not only that of the secretary general of the United Nations -- whose efforts are to be applauded -- but that of all nations, beginning with those that contribute to the support of the war by delivering arms to one side or the other.

12230  
CSO: 4619/53

## IRAN

## VELAYATI: FORCE ONLY WAY TO DEAL WITH ISRAEL, IRAQ

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 28 May 85 p 3

[Text] Political Service—Yesterday afternoon our country's foreign ministry summoned the ambassadors, charges d'affaires, and political attaches from the countries of the world in Iran, and Dr Velayati, Foreign Minister, briefed them on the latest changes in the area and Iraq's imposed war on Iran.

Dr Velayati spoke to the audience on Saddam's latest adventurism and the Ba'thist regime's violations of international law. He said: In the face of such aggression, the question now arises, is the only way seen by world society for stopping this aggression responses in kind by the Islamic Republic of Iran, or can unilateral action still be avoided by turning to international methods and procedures?

At this meeting Velayati recalled Saddam's recent crimes in bombing the cities of Iran and his other violations of laws accepted by the people of the world. He said: Unfortunately, all of our predictions with regard to the peak level of Saddam's crimes have come true, and due to the lack of an international response appropriate to the level of Iraq's war crimes, these Iraqi crimes have accelerated at an unprecedented rate in the four and one-half years of this war of aggression.

Our country's foreign minister then said: After the UN secretary general's trip to the two countries and his renewed call for a cessation of the use of chemical weapons by Iraq in the imposed war, this regime, by continuing to use these weapons while the secretary general of that organization was in Baghdad, in reality demonstrated once again its disregard for world public opinion.

Dr Velayati then discussed the results of the secretary general's trip to the two countries and the Security Council's vote to condemn the use of chemical weapons without mentioning the name of the country using the weapons. He said: The Security Council, having decided to make an adjustment of its past positions which have always favored the Iraqi regime, issued a statement condemning the use of chemical weapons by Iraq and declaring the necessity for an immediate stop to these inhumane crimes. The Iraqi regime, in a note given to the secretary general by that country's representative on 15 Ordibehesht 1364 [5 May 1985], expressed its opposition to the statement and its absolute decision to make renewed use of these weapons in the future, while insulting and reviling the countries who are members of the Security Council.

Dr Velayati added: On the other hand, the Islamic Republic of Iran, while making continuous efforts to prevent Iraq's violations of international law, has tried with its relations and cooperation with the countries in the area to find solutions for confronting the agents of unrest and crisis in the

area. Fortunately, this movement has been welcomed and adopted in a desirable way. The success of these measures has caused Iraq to seek measures to foment unrest, the implementation of which you have seen in the area in recent weeks. Velayati concluded that Iraq is concentrating its efforts in two areas. First, the intensification of violations of international law, especially in the two dimensions of the use of chemical weapons and attacks on residential areas in application of the formula "total war or total peace," which really violates the spirit and philosophy of all international regulations. Second, blackmail and assassination in the area in order to stop the process of establishing mutual understanding among the countries of the area with regard to a joint struggle against the primary agents of unrest in these countries. He continued: With regard to Iraq's measures in these matters, I would like to call my respected audience's particular attention to the fact that Iraq's recent fomentation of unrest and assassinations intensified exactly at the times when hopes were raised for creating mutual understanding between the area's Muslim countries. Clearly, such a reaction cannot in any way be considered accidental; this process is part of a criminal plot chosen with the objective of inflaming the entire area. Our country's foreign minister discussed the role of the world's imperialist-aligned media in distorting reality. He asked: Can the intensification of America's so-called anti-terrorist propaganda war against the Islamic Republic of Iran in any way be seen as accidental? Continuing his remarks, he said: There is no doubt that these events were planned to prepare area public opinion for acceptance of terrorist activities in the area that America has planned. The UN Secretary General's efforts to persuade the Iraqi regime to observe international law have reached a dead end. The latest Security Council resolution on the use of chemical weapons by Iraq was clearly rejected, and Iraq's terrorism and blackmail in the area have intensified. This is not an exaggeration, and there is no form of mischief imaginable that Iraq has not carried out.

Concluding his talk, Dr Velayati said: Experience has shown us that Iraq, like Israel, understands only the language of force. Consequently, there is no other way to completely settle unrest in the area than to uproot its primary agent, Saddam's regime. The Islamic Republic of Iran has decided to follow this road to its end and to put out the fire in the area. What remains as an overall responsibility for nations as members of the international community is to bring back respect for the preservation and observance of international law, which Iraq has violated in every respect in the fifty-six months of a war of aggression.

9310  
CSO: 4640/604

IRAN

IRP ORGAN: COMMUNIQUE IMPLIES BAZARGAN'S WISH FOR PRESIDENCY

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 23 May 85 p 11

[Text] From the day it was first conceived through the stages of its formation, peak, victory, and since the time of its victory, the Islamic revolution has never been without venomous attacks and unfair accusations from those who did not view the course of the revolution to be to their benefit, or at least in accordance with their desires. Perhaps this revolution is also unique in that it has not only been the target of constant accusations and attempts at vengeance from its sworn enemies, it also has been and continues to be the target of attempts at vengeance and illogical attacks from those who not long ago held positions, responsibilities, and key posts and are now out of public life because of their views and manner of approaching the revolution.

We have no choice but to accept fully-defined categories for friends and enemies of the revolution and to recognize the special characteristics each has generally retained, so we will be able to study the events and reactions of this or that group or society with these criteria, and use this study to obtain a classification that is logical, realistic, and at the same time in accordance with the time and the revolution's needs at that stage.

In classifying tendencies in opposition to the overall course of the revolution, we find four prominent groups:

1 - Enemies: These are those who have never missed an opportunity to attack the revolution and the things sacred to the people, and have revealed the depth of their enmity and spite again and again on various occasions.

2 - Enemies who pretend to be friends: This group has worked more cleverly. The history of the last seven years shows that they have done more damage than the first group to the people and the revolution by eliminating and martyring forces sympathetic to the revolution.

3 - Time-servers: This group has held new positions in accordance with various points in the revolution and the ups and downs of this great movement. They have changed direction with the seasons and tried to stay aligned with the most likely condition. The damage done by this group has not been and is no less than that of the first two groups.

4 - A group that has adopted a completely mistaken way of studying the issues of society, and have been taken out of public life for this reason, because they want to claim that their mistaken way is in accordance with the demands of the revolution and Islam. They want to impose an identity on the people in the name of the revolution and even Islam that is different than the one the people, the scattered ones of this revolution, perceive and which was and is their desire, and

in so doing they hope to plant the seeds of doubt. The National Front fits astonishingly well into the fourth category of tendencies in opposition to the overall course of the revolution. This group, although shifting position in accordance with domestic and foreign conditions, seems to consider itself obligated to plant seeds of doubt in order to bring the revolution and its legality into question.

The issue arises from the fact that the National Front has and has had a basic difference in viewpoint from the overall course of the revolution, which leads to this group's being separated by the widest gap possible from the real body of the revolution.

In discussing terms such as "the people," "the revolution," and "freedom," which are perceived as underlying the greater part of the analyses, expressions of opinion, and decisions in this revolution, this difference is more sensitive. This group presents its own special explanation concerning government by the people and their right to intervene in affairs, which is astronomically different from the natural perception of the people, the true owners of the revolution.

This group says that the people have the right to protest basic deviations, but just as the great event of the fall of the spy nest at the hands of the students following the Imam's line proved, they are not ready to recognize officially the people's right to correct deviations in the name of the entire revolution. The episode of the spy nest is a good example of the difference between the National Front's point of view and that of the overall course of the revolution. On the one hand we see a nation that openly and practically protested with great anger America's numerous and continuous interventions. They were so aroused by the condemned shah's trip to America that they created a hurricane, and made world public opinion aware of this hurricane of their anger for 14 long months. On the other hand we see the interim government, which agreed with the shah's trip to America. Isn't this event alone enough to show that the National Front's approach to the people and the revolution is totally at odds with what really exists and must exist?

Can such a group lay claim to the leadership of the country's executive system and carry the revolution forward without deviation, retaining its freshness, vigor, and comprehensiveness?

A greater mistake for Mr Bazargan and the National Front arises when they indict the spontaneously-arising movement of the Hezbollahs to oppose any kind of deviation, calling them "groups of so-called people's agents." The reason is that they still have not been able to perceive the populist identity of this revolution as it is, and at the same time he claims that if all resources were placed at the disposal of his group, he would be able to win the vote of the people.

This group, in its newest statement, published for this very purpose, demanded that all the resources available to groups in agreement with the overall course of the revolution and accepted by the people also be made available to groups which are on the sidelines and in opposition to the overall course of the revolution during the presidential elections, with the condition that the government be obligated to prevent confrontations with the martyr-nurturing people, referred to in a foolish National Front statement as "groups of so-called people's agents." In its statement, as always, the group also called for a lifting of the legal ban on the publication of the newspaper MIZAN. The question that arises here is why do people who portray themselves as so bound to the limits of the law ask that something illegal be done to take care of them and that the ban on publication of MIZAN be lifted without observing legal criteria? This demand, published as part of an acrid statement, will never be met. This group must submit its demands to judicial authorities and pursue them through legal means.

In this statement the National Front has behaved in the manner of the enemies of the revolution and has tried to accuse the revolution of thought control. It says:

The people of the nation, who have the right to participate in elections under the Constitution, have been assured that all have full freedom and security and that there is not the slightest concern for the consequences of their vote or of deprivation and injury (if they abstain from participating in the elections). If this demand is not met the government is responsible for all the damage inflicted on the opposition.

It will be a good thing if we ask Mr Bazargan if he knows what he is saying. Can you cite even one example in a previous election where people were questioned for the reasons you insist on so clearly? Why are you walking in the footsteps of the hypocrites and Bani Sadr, a path that leads only to disgrace, rejection, and being cut off from the people, and has left them repentant with no way back? What do these acrid and vengeful words prove?

Mr Bazargan, if what you have proposed in this regard were to come to pass precisely, and if the spirit of your efforts is noticed, it will be clear that your main objective has been to bring the Islamic republic into question in any way possible. It is an unfortunate point concerning the National Front that the results of their work have always underscored the fact that their mission is to create an uproar now and then, in their minds for the purpose of bringing the legality of the elections and even the entire government into question and to feed the Western media for a while. The National Front statement adds: If action is taken on the above matters and legal and religious obligations before God and the people are carried out truthfully and sincerely, freedom will be secured for the elections and the National Front of Iran will participate in the forthcoming presidential elections according to its national and Islamic duty. It invites its dear compatriots to fulfill this obligation and to realize this right, and it will present its candidate, who is naturally Engineer Mehdi Bazargan.

The National Front's statement ends with this astonishing sentence: Only if the above conditions are met will the presidential elections have the necessary credibility and legality.

Mr Bazargan must be asked how it is that the legality of the presidential elections and a revolution can be contingent on opening the way for one group? How have you so underestimated the legality of a revolution that you question it when the people turn their backs on you? Mr Bazargan! Because of its actions throughout the period since the triumph of the revolution, and its choice of a course in opposition to the overall course of the revolution and the people, the National Front is now on the political sidelines. You yourself have caused this political retirement, and you are not prepared simply to accept this point. A line that leans toward America has no place in this revolution, and you cannot reproach the people for paying no attention to this line. You cannot complain to officials asking why there is no place for you to appear in public because of your past actions. You cannot ask officials to do something to cause the people to pay attention to you and lean towards you. No one anywhere in the world has ever said such a thing, because such an assumption is not acceptable.

In other words, it would be a good idea if you were to weigh the situation. On one side of the scale is you and whoever supports you, and on the other side is a people who are not with you, and you reason that your opponents are all officials! Are those who see your questioning positions as warfare and who oppose them officials? You who question a revolution from behind closed doors where you have sequestered yourselves cannot criticize the people for rejecting such narrow-minded views.

Your positions on the war are specified, and they clearly deface the attainments of the holy struggle of a nation and a revolution in the face of the most acrimonious war of modern times against a revolutionary nation.

In view of this, how do you expect a martyred people and people who have invested everything they have to preserve this revolution to think the way you do? Isn't it an insult to use the term "agent" for these people? Do you want to accuse the people of being unaware as well? We saw and you saw where the hypocrites got in this regard, and they got nothing but the people's utmost contempt.

Mr Bazargan! You have said astonishing things in this statement: you wrote that changing the leadership through armed insurrection and violence such as assassination and bombings is neither proper nor in the public interest.

This comment bears an undeniable resemblance to the view expressed by the hypocrites the day after the assassination of Martyr Mofatteh when they announced: This step was not in the public interest in the present circumstances, but the time did come when they saw it in their interest to rise up in arms against this revolution. Mr Bazargan, will the day come when you and those who think as you do will see it in their interest to affirm the actions of the enemies of the revolution with greater clarity?

Push aside the walls and organizational webs you have woven around yourself so that you can perceive the fragrant atmosphere of this revolution and be proud of your presence in such an atmosphere. Neither the government, nor the judicial system, nor anyone else can smile at those who laugh at the things that are sacred to the people.

Your only art is applying patches that don't match. Even when you were in office and spoke as the first prime minister of this revolution, your principal activity was this same questioning of the revolution and the Islamic republic. Mr Bazargan! It would be well if you answered this question: If your demands are met, will the legality of the elections be established? Who are you to be playing with such words? Have you forgotten 22 Bahman 1363 [11 Feb 1984]? At the very hour when the people were taking part in the ceremonies for the anniversary of the Islamic revolution, why was the National Front in another corner trying to become a news making organization preparing suitable fodder for the foreign media and eclipse the greatness of that huge demonstration? You cannot be against these people, periodically questioning this nation's revolution, and at the same time expect any kind of reaction from the people. Neither the judicial system nor the government nor anyone else can give you such a guarantee. The late Ayatollah Taleqani once clearly announced that whoever stands against this revolution must be annihilated. This is not a threat, it is a logical conclusion based on the certain reaction of the people as the arms of this revolution against those who wish to announce their opposition to this revolution.

The implicit meaning of the National Front statement is that you are asking the Islamic republic to make you president, otherwise its legality will be entirely subject to question. Astonishing! We have heard this talk once before. In the first presidential elections, Madani said: If the elections are held freely and properly, I will definitely be president, and the day after the elections, as usual, all the political losers claimed that their victory was prevented by election fraud.

Mr Bazargan, this is a startling warning that history seems to be repeating this time for you.

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IRAN

## ARTICLE EXAMINES FACTORS AFFECTING COUNTRY'S ECONOMY

East Burnham ARABIA, THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English May 85 pp 66-68

[Text]

**[IP]** The 1364 (1985/86) budget of Prime Minister Mussavi's government in many respects marks a turning point in the fiscal policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The outstanding features of the new budget — which after passing through various Majlis committees and giving rise to controversy in the parliament was finally approved with only slight revisions — were the following:

- The anti-inflationary stance of the budget, which seeks to reduce the considerable inflationary pressures which have been building up within the economy during the past few years. This is planned to be achieved through deflationary policies.
- The determination to continue with the war, which is reflected in the absorption of an overwhelming share of government expenditure by the war and war-related expenditures. With the increasing growth of war expenditure, the brunt of the deflationary policies of the government is borne by development expenditure and non-military current expenditure.
- Greater reliance on the private sector to step up the rate of investment to compensate for the decline in government development spending.
- An attempt to improve and amend the taxation system to reduce government's dependence on oil incomes.

The total budget for 1985/86 is limited to IR3,868.7bn (\$40.82: \$1=94.774 rials), capital investment budget has declined from IR1,186.4bn in 1984/85 to IR1,106.7bn, while the current expenditure budget shows a slight increase from IR2,728.2bn in 1984/85 to IR2,654.2bn in 1985/86. Considering the official estimates of the rate of inflation of about 20 per cent during the past fiscal

year, these figures imply a considerable decline in the level of government expenditure in real terms.

War-related expenditure comprises the bulk of the current budget and its exclusion leads to a marked decline in the non-military current expenditure of the government. The direct and indirect war expenses have formed a growing expenditure item in the budget since the beginning of the war. According to Premier Mussavi when presenting the budget to the Majlis, the direct and indirect expenses of the war have increased from IR641.4bn in 1980/81 to IR1,211bn in 1983/84, and to IR1,303.6bn for 1984/85. In other words, war expenditure has risen from 24.1 per cent of the general budget in 1980 to more than 34 per cent in 1984.

Increasing war expenditure during recent years has exerted considerable strain on the budget and has left little leeway for the government as regards its other social and economic tasks. An examination of the trends during recent years shows that the appropriation for education has increased from IR342.7bn in 1982/83 to IR410bn in 1983/84 and IR437bn in 1984/85. The current budget envisages an increase of merely IR20bn in the education budget, bringing it up to IR457bn in 1985/86, which implies a decline in the real value of the budget for education during the entire post-revolutionary period. According to Majlis deputy Hatam Narooi in the open session of January 26, it is obvious that "considering the inflation, the real value of the IR425bn budget of 1364 has declined compared to 1359."

The decline in the appropriations for medical and health care is more marked.

The budget for medical and health care shows a IR2.1bn decrease in current prices; from IR196.1bn in 1984/85 to IR194bn in the current year. Medical and health-care appropriations in the entire post-revolutionary period also indicate a similar downward trend, declining from IR148.7bn in 1980/81 to IR136.5bn in 1982/83, subsequently increasing to IR191.1bn in 1983/84 and IR196.1bn in 1984/85 — exhibiting a more rapid decline in real terms than the education expenditures.

The new budget is also characterised by a general slashing of development expenditure, even though the government has a renewed emphasis on the agricultural sector and its development. Priority has been given to those development projects which are already under way and credit for new development projects will be limited. According to Dr Banki, the head of the Plan and Budget Organisation, "In the development budget of 1985/86 the emphasis has been placed on completing the existing projects and limiting the number and size of the new projects" (*Ettela'at*, February 24 1985).

The considerable reduction in the development budget is projected to be partially offset by greater reliance on private sector participation in funding development projects. An example is the allocation of IR8bn out of provincial development credits for the execution of small projects which are at least half funded by the private sector.

Criticism has been levelled against the curbing of the development budget for its long-term implications — namely its effect on the level of employment and on future growth potential. The underutilisation of the present productive capacity, the halting of additional infrastructural developments, and the limited use made of the potential educational capacity of the existing institutes for training badly-needed skills are going to produce shortages of goods and services which are much in demand, particularly during the reconstruction of the economy.

According to the director of the economic department of the ministry of industries: "The preface to the new budget bill lays a lot of emphasis on fiscal policies and suggests controlling inflation through reducing the government's expenditures. In my own opinion, however, the continual inflation in the country is due to inadequate attention to long-term prospects of the agricultural

sector and also the chaotic nature of local industrial production."

The effects of cuts in the development budget on the economy's infrastructure are believed to be the most potentially disruptive. According to Minister of Transport N Hosseiniyan, "Unfortunately the credits allocated to the ministry of transport are well below our requirements of 300,000km of planned road construction and the payment of considerable compensation to the contractors" (*Ettela'at*, February 24 1985). On the disruptive effects of such curtailment, Hosseiniyan added: "It is commonly said that boosting agricultural production should be the priority; but without roads this is virtually impossible. Roads are needed for supplying the agricultural products to the market, and more than often poor means of transportation leads to high prices of agricultural products in the urban areas."

Various critics have pointed out that the only true resolution to the problems of budget deficit and inflation in the long run is an increased emphasis on economic development. However, according to Prime Minister Mussavi, "In consideration of the increased war expenditures, a budget that would simultaneously reduce inflation and boost the economy's growth is very difficult to obtain."

Despite these considerations, neither the government nor any of the Majlis deputies who spoke in opposition to the government budget showed any hesitation in supporting the war effort to the end. In a recent meeting with the Iranian ambassadors and consuls in African and Arab countries, Premier Mussavi voiced this view very clearly: "Despite all the opposition by all the different political trends in the world, we will continue the war."

Regarding the revenue side of the budget, oil revenues continue to furnish the bulk of government revenues, forming 53 per cent of general public income in the current year's budget. The dependence of the government on the oil sector for the major share of its revenues aroused considerable feeling in the parliamentary debates, and the government made a point of emphasising that in the new budget there is a one per cent reduction in the share of oil revenues from the 54 per cent of 1984/85. Oil revenues in absolute terms are projected to increase by IR67bn, from IR1800bn in 1984/85 to IR1,867bn in 1985/86.

**TABLE 1: The General Budget of the Islamic Republic of Iran (billion rials)**

RECEIPTS			PAYMENTS			
<b>Taxes</b>	1984-85	1985-86	<b>Fixed capital expenditure</b>	1984-85	1985-86	
	873.1	1063.6	<b>Current Repayment of foreign loans</b>	1186.4	1106.7	
<b>Oil</b>	1800.0	1867.0		2654.2	2728.2	
<b>Other</b>	628.8	543.6		30.0	33.8	
<b>Use of domestic loans</b>	364.7	298.0				
<b>Return of last year's payment</b>	150.0	96.5				
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3870.6</b>	<b>3868.7</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3870.6</b>	<b>3868.7</b>	

*Source: Plan and Budget Organisation*

**TABLE 2: Budget deficits and oil revenues**

	1977/78	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83
<b>Oil revenues (bn rials)</b>	1497.8	1013.2	1219.7	888.8	937.9	1563.5
<b>Budget deficits (as percentage of GNP)</b>	6.1	12.1	7.6	12.9	11.6	7.7

*SOURCE: Bank Markazi Iran*

Tax revenues are projected at IR1,063.6bn in the current year's budget as compared to IR873.1bn in the 1984/85 budget. This implies an expected increase of about 4 per cent in the share of taxes in total revenue, which is to rise from 26 per cent in 1984/85 to over 30 per cent in 1985/86. More emphasis will be put on the share of direct taxes which will increase roughly from 45 per cent to 48 per cent of tax revenue. The figure for the special incomes of the government in the new budget will also increase from IR217.2bn last year to IR259.1bn in the current budget.

The increase in taxation is generally interpreted as a step towards reducing the dependence of the economy on oil. The above figures, however, do not show any dramatic change in the composition of government revenues. It is also important to note that increased taxation in itself would not be sufficient to reduce the dependence of the economy on oil. To the extent that increased taxes and reduced

government expenditures exert a deflationary influence on the economy, they could be said to lead to a decrease in oil revenue requirements in the short run by reducing incomes and consequently imports. This, however, defeats the cause of reducing the long-term structural dependence of the economy on oil.

To achieve this latter aim the government has to step up the rate of investment and attempt to restructure the economy, but financial difficulties due to the decline in oil revenues and increasing war expenditures have forced the government to relinquish its first five-year development plan. The current budget is itself a reflection of these financial difficulties and could therefore hardly contribute to reduce the dependence of the economy on oil in the long run.

The attempt to amend the taxation system and implement higher taxes for higher incomes is a welcome move, as it will generally increase public income and give greater power of discretionary fiscal

policy to the government and helps to bring about greater equality in the distribution of income. With the decline in government expenditures, however, tax collection would tend to become increasingly difficult and the projected increase of about IR200bn in taxes may prove too optimistic.

The main priority of the budget is said to be the control of inflation. According to Dr Nourbakhsh, governor of the Central Bank, "the main cause of inflation is disorderly growth of private sector liquidity which is in turn connected to budget deficits" (*Ettela'at*, February 24 1985). In the new budget the government has tried to moderate inflation by cutting the size of the budget deficits. According to other experts, however, the main elements responsible for inflation are: "Disarray in production, inadequate supply of foreign exchange to producers, lack of productive investments, lack of pricing control and inefficiency in the distribution system" (*Iran Press Digest*, January 8 1985).

The crux of the matter in the new budget, like all previous Iranian budgets, lies in the behaviour of the oil revenues. Government revenues, both oil and non-oil, ultimately depend on the level of oil exports. This is reflected in the remarkable correlation between budget

deficits and oil revenues during the 1977-83 period as shown in Table 2. Whether the government can check its budget deficits in the current fiscal year, and by how much it has to slash its expenditure to achieve this, both depend on the capacity to export oil.

Given the 1985 prospects in the oil market and the problems posed for Iranian oil exports due to the tanker war in the Gulf, the projected estimates of oil revenues in the current fiscal budget seem to be optimistic. Even in 1984/85, when the prospects for oil exports were much better than the current year, the actual oil revenues of the government were no more than IR1,200bn as opposed to the IR1,800bn projected in that year's budget.

In the face of dwindling oil revenues, to finance the war the government has to cut its expenditure on non-war activities and increase taxes. Resources have to be diverted from alternative ends to finance the war effort. The difference between the current year's budget and those of previous years lies in the fact that in previous budgets this shift of resources — which was on a much more moderate scale — took place mainly through inflationary mechanisms, while in the present budget the government has attempted to do this through direct budgetary allocations.

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IRAN

PAPER REPORTS ON 'GREATER AUTONOMY' FOR WOMEN

East Burnham ARABIA, THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English May 85 p 94

[Text]

A number of instructions issued recently by Iran's High Judicial Council concerning the rights of married women are seen as an important indicator of the direction of social policies of the Iranian government.

All marriage registry offices are now required to post these instructions in a conspicuous place and to attach a copy to each marriage certificate. The instructions deal with rights of married women unfairly or impulsively divorced by their husbands. They also contain provisions for cases where a woman may be entitled to seek a divorce.

If a woman, being innocent of violating marital obligations is divorced, she will be entitled to half the wealth, or its equivalent, which her husband may have accumulated during their marriage, subject to a religious court ruling. The instructions go on to list twelve cases where a woman may be entitled to a divorce without her husband's approval.

- A husband's failure to support his wife or to honour his marital and matrimonial duties, and if he cannot be compelled or persuaded to rectify this failure.

- Gross maltreatment by the husband, rendering the wife's life unbearable.

- If the husband suffers from an incurable disease that disables him from leading a normal marital life.

- The husband's insanity.

- A husband's contempt of a court order requiring him to refrain from practices harmful to the family status and reputation, or practices which the wife deems demeaning for her.

- If the husband has to serve a prison sentence of five years or more or where

he has to pay a fine in lieu of that sentence and thus be unable to support his wife for five years or more. This ruling does not apply to a suspended sentence.

- A husband's addiction to prohibited drugs which a court deems harmful to family life.

- If the husband leaves his family for a continued period of six months for reasons unacceptable to a Shariah court.

- A court's final verdict to send a husband to prison, to pay a fine or be penalised according to the hudood stipulated by Islamic law following a violation that the court deems harmful to the family's status and reputation, or one that the wife considers as unacceptable to her.

- A husband's sterility for more than five years.

- A husband's absence for more than six months despite efforts by the court and the concerned authorities to find him.

- A husband's marriage to another wife without the consent of his first wife, provided that the court has decided that he is unable to be fair to both wives.

These instructions shall be statutory rights for a woman without prejudice to her right to lay conditions to be agreed between her and her husband in the marriage contract, which shall constitute part of that contract, including a wife's stipulation to divorce her husband at her discretion.

The balance of these decisions appears to be directed at satisfying demands by women for greater autonomy and say in married life. Women have been playing an important role in the social and political life of Iran since the revolution.

NEPAL

BRIEFS

AMBASSADORS PRESENT CREDENTIALS--His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev received the credentials from the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Belgium, Mr Morcel Van de Kerckhov, Ambassador of the Republic of Finland Jan Henrik Croope, Ambassador of New Zealand Sir Edmund Hillary and Ambassador of the Kingdom of Denmark, Mr Kaj Baag amidst separate special ceremonies held at Narayanhity Royal Place, Friday. [Excerpt] [Katmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 25 May 85 p 1 BK]

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